



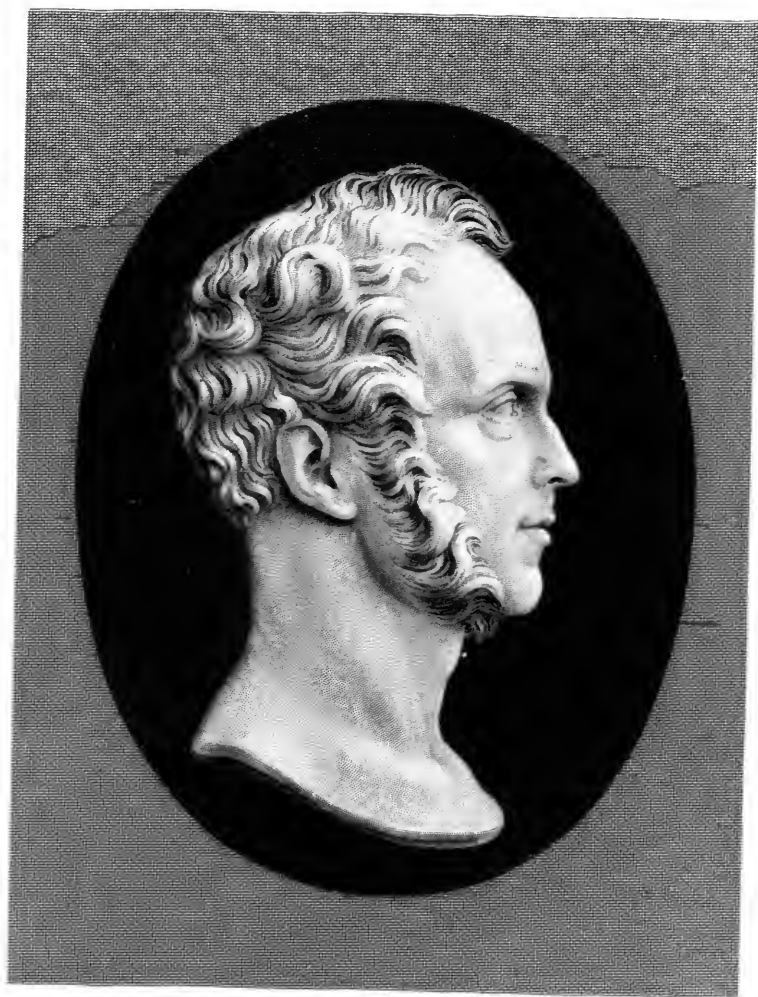


ISAAC FOOT



THE LIFE
OF
HENRY JOHN TEMPLE,
VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

VOLUME I.



Palmerston

THE LIFE
OF
HENRY JOHN TEMPLE,
VISCOUNT PALMERSTON:

WITH
Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence.

BY
THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY LYTTON BULWER, G.C.B., M.P.

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, 1784-1865
Palmerston, 1801-1872



VOLUME I.

THIRD EDITION.

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TO THE
RIGHT HON. WM. F. COWPER-TEMPLE, M.P.

MY DEAR TEMPLE,

Had Lady Palmerston been spared to us, my respectful dedication of this work would have been to her who felt so deep an interest in its subject, and who offered me the means for accomplishing the task which at her wish I undertook.

Alas ! she has departed from a world which her noble and kind nature, her grace and her goodness, so long adorned.

To you I am, next to her, most indebted ; and, in inscribing to you these volumes, I am testifying my gratitude for the help you have given me in recording the career of a Statesman who rendered the name of Temple, already historical, one of the proudest illustrations of our country.

Yours, my dear Temple, very sincerely,

H. L. BULWER.

HERON HOUSE, RICHMOND.

October 15, 1870.

P R E F A C E.

It is difficult for any one who has not tried to write a work of this kind to anticipate the difficulties through which it is carried out, inasmuch as its proportions are being constantly changed according to the materials the writer receives.

My first idea was to sketch Lord Palmerston as I have sketched Mr. Canning in 'Historical Characters.' But when the large collection of Mr. Temple's letters from which I have quoted was placed in my hands, these letters were so characteristic of the writer, and so good as letters, that I thought they ought to find a place in his biography. I still, however, contemplated finishing the work in two volumes when I was put in possession of a very extensive private correspondence,* connected with foreign affairs, and this

* I should say that the value of this hitherto unpublished correspondence consists in its showing not merely the outside which is contained in official documents, but the inside of public affairs for a very long period of time. From the letters *of* Lord Palmerston I have copied freely; from the letters *to* Lord Palmerston I have merely selected a very few, which neither the persons who wrote them nor their friends could feel the slightest dislike to see in print.

at a time when foreign affairs had become of intense interest. I found it again necessary, therefore, to extend my plan; and finally, though I have endeavoured to confine my citations to such papers alone as peculiarly illustrated the policy of the statesman I was describing, and the manner in which he carried that policy out, I have not reached further in the two volumes I now publish than the fall of the Whig Cabinet in 1841.

These two volumes, however, comprise Lord Palmerston's early and subordinate career, and carry us also through the period during which his reputation as a Foreign Minister was formed, and his talents as a statesman first acknowledged. That period begins with a certain struggle against the resistance of the Northern Cabinets to *any change* in the affairs of Europe, and a struggle, at the same time, against that revolutionary spirit, sprung from the revolution of 1830 in France, which wished to *change everything*.

Lord Palmerston succeeded in this double struggle by moderating the two conflicting extremes; establishing a constitutional sovereign and a neutral state in Belgium, and uniting France, Spain, Portugal, and England in an alliance favourable to constitutional monarchy in Europe. This policy he realized with the aid of France, whose restless ambition he had nevertheless to restrain.

His wish, no doubt, would have been to maintain and perpetuate a cordial understanding with a state by

whose co-operation with our own he hoped gradually to diffuse liberal opinions throughout the world.

But from causes which I have more or less explained, the French Cabinet had no sooner connected itself formally with ours than it began to be uneasy under the connection, and to seek the sympathy of those powers against whose principles we had been combating together.

At last arose a question in which the interests of Great Britain were deeply involved; for England could not allow the ruler of Egypt to be independent of the Sultan's Government and dependent on that of the French.

The French Government, notwithstanding, appeared bent on carrying out this project, and only anxious to do so without attracting our attention or provoking our opposition. Then it was that Lord Palmerston, after attempting to open the eyes of Louis Philippe's Ministers to the futility of their plans (and he had to deal alternately with M. Molé, Marshal Soult, and M. Thiers), broke from an ally who wished (as he imagined) to make him a dupe, and successfully opposed France, with the aid of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, as he had previously opposed those three powers with the aid of France. In both cases, the policy of England triumphed under his auspices; and in both cases the policy of England was a natural policy—in conformity with her principles in the one case, and with her interests in the other.

It is not, however, to the success which attended Lord Palmerston's efforts so much as to the mode in which that success was obtained, that as his biographer I wish to draw attention.

There was nothing mean, shifty, underhand, or vacillating in his course. Whatever line he took he pursued it openly, straightforwardly, firmly. There is hardly a paper he ever signed up to the time of which I am speaking, that would not induce every Englishman on reading it to say, "Well done, Palmerston!"

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LIFE OF HENRY JOHN TEMPLE,

THIRD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G., G.C.B.

BOOK I.

Character—Career—Landmarks in it—Parentage, birth, boyhood—Italy and Harrow—Letter from and to young Hare—Future life shadowed out in boyhood—Goes to Scotland and Cambridge—Stands for Cambridge University—Defeated, and comes into Parliament for Horsham; but is unseated—Becomes Junior Lord of the Admiralty—Stands again for Cambridge—Again defeated; but is returned for Newtown—Journal from 1806 to the Duke of Portland's Administration.

I HAVE undertaken to write the biography of a great Character. statesman under whom I long served, and for whom I had a sincere and respectful affection. I shall endeavour to perform this not ungrateful task with simplicity and impartiality, feeling certain that the more simply and impartially I can make known the character of Lord Palmerston, the more likely I am to secure for his memory the admiration and esteem of his countrymen.

The most distinguishing quality of the eminent Englishman whom I am thus about to describe was a nature that opened itself happily to the tastes, feelings, and habits of various classes and kinds of men.

Character.

Hence a comprehensive sympathy, which not only put his actions in spontaneous harmony with the sense and feeling of the public, but by presenting life before his mind in many aspects, widened his views and moderated his impressions, and led him away from those subtleties and eccentricities which solitude or living constantly in any limited society is apt to generate.

In the march of his epoch he was behind the eager, but before the slow. Accustomed to a large range of observation over contemporaneous events, he had been led by history to the conclusion that all eras have their peculiar tendencies, which a calm judgment and an enlightened statesmanship should distinctly recognize, but not prematurely adopt or extravagantly indulge. He did not believe in the absolute wisdom which some see in the past, which others expect from the future; but he preferred the hopes of the generation that was coming on to the despair of the generation that was passing away. Thus throughout a long political life there was nothing violent or abrupt, nothing that had the appearance of going backwards and forwards, or forwards and backwards. His career went on in one direction gradually but continuously from its commencement to its close, under the impulse of a motive power formed from the collection of various influences—some modifying others—and not representing in the aggregate the decided opinion of any particular party or class, but approximating to the opinion of the English nation in

general. Into the peculiar and individual position Character. which in this manner he by degrees acquired, he carried an earnest patriotism, a strong manly understanding, many accomplishments derived from industry and a sound early education, and a remarkable talent for concentrating details. This last, indeed, was his peculiar merit as a man of business, and wherein he showed a masterly capacity. No official situation, therefore, found him unequal to it; whilst it is still more remarkable that he never aspired to any situation prematurely. Ambitious, he was devoid of vanity; and with a singular absence of effort or pretension, found his foot at last on the topmost round of the ladder he had been long unostentatiously mounting.

Born	20 Oct., 1784	Career.
Succeeded his father	17 April, 1802	
M.A., Cambridge	27 Jan., 1806	
Lord of the Admiralty	3 April, 1807—Oct., 1809	
Secretary at War	28 Oct., 1809—26 May, 1828	
Secretary for Foreign Affairs	22 Nov., 1830—15 Nov., 1834 18 April, 1835—31 Aug., 1841 3 July, 1846—22 Dec., 1851	
Home Secretary	28 Dec., 1852—30 Jan., 1855	
Prime Minister	20 Feb., 1855—20 Feb., 1858 30 June, 1859—18 Oct., 1865	

Such were the ascending steps of a prosperous life, towards the end of which, fortune constantly accompanying him, the hero of this memoir reached the summit of public distinction.

It must be admitted, however, that he engaged in

Career.

public affairs with advantages which are great at all times and in every country, but which were especially great in England during what may now be called "the old régime." He was of a good family, with a well-known name, and a fair fortune.

Parentage.

The Temples were gentlemen in the reign of Henry VIII. A Sir William Temple was the secretary of Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards of the unfortunate Earl of Essex. He seems to have been a man of letters, with the chivalric temperament that characterised his age. His son Sir John held posts of confidence and authority in Ireland, and Sir John's son was the celebrated diplomatist who had William III. for his friend, and Swift for his dependent. Lord Palmerston descended directly from a younger brother of the great diplomatist, this brother rising to be Attorney-General and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. His son Henry, created a Peer of Ireland (March 12, 1722), was for several years a member of the English Parliament, sitting successively for East Grinstead, Bossiney, and Weobley. The heir to his title died young, but left issue, and thus the second Viscount was grandson to the first. He was known as an accomplished and fashionable gentleman, a lover and appreciator of art, which made him, no doubt, an admirer of beauty. Of this he gave a proof in his second marriage* to

* His first wife, whom he married Oct. 6, 1767, was Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Poole. She died June 1, 1769, without leaving issue.

Miss Mee, a young lady of a highly respectable Parentage. family in Gloucestershire, into the house of whose father, then residing in Dublin, the peer, in consequence of a fall from his horse, had been carried.* Our late Prime Minister was the son of this nobleman and of Miss Mee, who appears from all accounts to have been not only handsome, but accomplished and agreeable, and to have held a high position in Dublin and London society. Her husband's artistic tastes led him at various times into Italy; and it was thus that a portion of the future minister's boyhood was passed in that country, in the fate of which he always took an interest. He formed at this time an intimate acquaintance with a lad of the name of Hare, who became in after years one of the best known and most accomplished gentlemen of his time; and I happen to have a curious letter from young Francis Hare to young Harry Temple, then at Harrow, and a letter from Harry Temple in reply.

Francis Hare† to Harry Temple, vale.

"Bologna, Jan. 5, 1798.

"I hope, dear Harry, that you continue always well, and Letters. that you profit much at school, both in Greek and Latin. I

* I have to acknowledge a mistake which appeared in the former editions of this work, wherein I had erroneously stated Mr. Mee to have been a tradesman.

† Hare was the eldest of four brothers (Francis, Augustus, Julius, and Marcus), of whom Augustus and the Archdeacon—Julius—authors of the "Guesses at Truth," became the best known publicly, though all were remarkably accomplished, and held in high esteem by the scholars and poets of their time. In Mr. Forster's "Life of Walter Savage Landor" several notices occur of Harry Temple's correspondent Francis,

Letters.

make you this wish, as I think it the very best that a true friend can make, and I think I ought to believe that you place me in this number.

"I hope you take no part in those vices which are common to a public school, such as I suppose Harrow, as swearing and getting drunk ; but I imagine the son of a gentleman so well taught cannot partake in things like these.

"Pray give a kiss to each of your two amiable sisters, but particularly to Fanny, and tell her to write me a letter whenever you answer mine. I still persist in my opinion of never marrying, and I suppose you think the same, as you must have read as well as myself of the many faults and vices of women.

"Perhaps I at Bologna may have learnt more Greek than you, and that you at Harrow may know best how to fight

who met Landor at Tours in 1815, and during their joint residence in Italy became his most intimate friend. When Hare first went to Christ Church, Cyril Jackson referred to him as the only rolling stone he had ever known which was always gathering moss ; and Landor, of whom the same might with equal truth have been said, told Mr. Forster that from Hare's society he had derived the animation and excitement that had helped him most in the composition of his "Imaginary Conversations." Excepting a few remarks (signed F.) in the "Guesses at Truth," Francis Hare published nothing ; but so accurate and extensive were his classical attainments that his brother Julius, a most distinguished scholar, told Mr. Maurice he owed as much to him as to any of his instructors. "I remember our Consul-General at Rome," writes Mr. Seymour Kirkup, "calling him a monster of learning." And Landor, in introducing him in 1827 to Southey and Wordsworth, dwells even less on his prodigious scholarship than on "his wit and the inexhaustible spirit and variety of his conversation." In April, 1828, he married Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Dean Paul, and had with her 20,000*l.* He died in Sicily in 1840, and there is an allusion to him in a poem by Landor as one—

. . . . "Who held mute the joyous and the wise
With wit and eloquence ; whose tomb, afar
From all his friends and all his countrymen,
Saddens the light Palermo."

with your fist ; however, if you challenge me I shall not Letters.
hesitate to accept, for I remember I am an English boy, and
will behave like a brave one. Pray salute for me Willie
Ponsonby, whom you and I knew in Italy. Billy desires not
to be forgotten by you: I have no more time for writing, so
shall only add that I shall wait for your answer with impa-
tience. I protest myself, with all my heart, your most affec-
tionate friend,

“ FRANCIS GEORGE HARE.”

“ Harrow, March 29, 1798.

“ DEAR HARE,

“ I am just recovered from the meazles, which,
however, I have had very slightly, and am now very
well. I am sincerely obliged to you for your kind
wish, and trust that I make as much progress as
boys in my situation at school generally do. I have
begun Homer’s Iliad, which I did in that beautifull
episode, in the 5th* book I think, in which Andro-
mache takes leave of Hector, when returning from
the war to Troy, to order a general supplication to
Minerva, at this line,

“Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἀπέβη κορυθαίολος”Εκτωρ’

I suppose, however, that you have made considerable
progress in your learning, more than is perhaps in
my power, we having tasks regularly allotted for
each day, as long as we stay in each form or class.
I am now doing Cæsar, Terence, Ovid, Homer, Greek
Testament, and a collection of Greek epigrams, and
after the Easter holidays, which are now drawing
near, I shall begin Virgil, Horace, and some more.

* Really the 6th book, line 116.

Letters.

I am perfectly of *your* opinion concerning drinking and swearing, which, though fashionable at present, I think extremely ungentlemanlike ; as for getting drunk, I can find no pleasure in it. I am glad to see that though educated in Italy you have not forgot old England. Your letter brings to my mind the pleasant time I spent in Italy, and makes me wish to revisit the country I am now reading so much about ; and when I am sucking a sour orange, purchased by perhaps eight biochi, I think with regret upon those which I used to get in such plenty in Italy ; and when eating nasty things nicknamed sausages, envy you at Bologna, who perhaps now are feasting off some nice ones. I have begun to learn Spanish, and have also begun to read Don Quixote in the originall, which I can assure you gave me no small pleasure. Mr. Gaetano, if you remember him, desires to be remembered to you. I can assure you I have by no means left off my Italian, but keep it up every holidays with Mr. Gaetano, who has published a new Italian grammar, which has been very much approved of here in England. I cannot agree with you about marriage, though I *should be by no means precipitate about my choice*.* Willy is come to Harrow, and sends his love to you. I send you no news, as I know none. Adieu !

“ Believe me ever your affectionate friend,

“ HENRY TEMPLE.”

Remarks.

I shall here add a letter which I received recently

* This intention was literally carried out.

from one of Mr. Henry Temple's Harrow con-
temporaries, which shows that the brave and gentle
nature manifested throughout a long career was
traceable from early youth. Remarks.

Letter from Sir Augustus Clifford.

Letters.

"Westfield, Ryde, September 21, 1870.

"When I went to Harrow in 1797, the late Lord Palmerston was reckoned the best-tempered and most plucky boy in the school, as well as a young man of great promise. We were in the same house, which was Dr. Bromley's, by whom we were often called when idle 'young men of wit and pleasure.'

"The late Lord De Mauley—then William Ponsonby—Poulett, a son of Lord Poulett, and myself, were fags to Althorp, Duncannon, and Temple, who messed together; and the latter was by far the most merciful and indulgent.

"I can remember well Temple fighting 'behind school' a great boy called Salisbury, twice his size, and he would not give in, but was brought home with black eyes and a bloody nose, and Mother Bromley taking care of him. I went to sea shortly after, and though I cannot bear testimony to his future career, I can to the invariable kindness he has always shown me, and the happy hours I have spent in his society.

"Lord Lonsdale and Lord Headfort were also in the same house, and would, I am sure, confirm what I say.

"Believe me, yours very truly,

"AUGUSTUS CLIFFORD."

In the letter of Sir Augustus Clifford we see the plucky Secretary of State, who forced his political opponents to say they were proud of him, with a black eye and a bloody nose refusing to give in to the big boy Salisbury; whilst in the Hare corre-

Remarks.

spondence it is amusing to find two boys, then about thirteen years old, discussing the question of marriage, on which Lord Palmerston does not like to compromise himself. He declares, however, stoutly against drinking and swearing — vices which he acknowledges to be *fashionable*, but condemns as *ungentlemanlike*. The distinction is not unimportant; for boys who do not think for themselves, fancy that to be fashionable is to be gentlemanlike.

We are glad to go back to the early years of those who in maturer age become eminent, and mark how much of the man was in the boy. A youth, whose English is far from perfect, admiring a beautiful passage in Homer, keeping up his Italian in an English school, feeling a greater interest in Latin literature from his recollection of the spots to which it frequently refers, voluntarily learning Spanish, stating that he had not made up his mind about wedlock, but that he regretted Italian oranges and Bologna sausages, ripened naturally into a man who would turn his attention to foreign affairs, admire the classic oratory of Canning, prove industrious in office, speak a good deal without compromising himself, keep racehorses, have a good appetite, and be generally at once what is so charming and so rare—gay and thoughtful, manly and refined.

The Harrovian did not on quitting the school, so celebrated for producing statesmen, move on directly to an English university. It was the fashion of the

time for young men to take the University of Edinburgh as an intermediate preparation for that of Cambridge or Oxford; for Scotland at that period had acquired a reputation both in philosophy and history which she never previously possessed, and has not since fully maintained. This pre-eminence may be accounted for by the writings of Hume, Robertson, Dugald Stewart, and Adam Smith; and also by the variety of distinguished scholars who had been formed by such men as these, or by their works. Brougham, Horner, Jeffrey, Henry Petty (afterwards Lord Lansdowne), had preceded Henry Temple; Lord John Russell and William Lamb (Lord Melbourne) were his successors. Remarks.

The lectures that principally attracted attention were Dugald Stewart's on political economy and moral philosophy; and to these studies, than which none are better calculated to be the foundation of a statesman's education, it would seem that Mr. Temple especially applied himself. The notes which he made form, indeed, the principal part of the text which is now given as "Dugald Stewart's Lectures on Economical Science;" for it appears that the lectures in question were in a great measure *extempore*; and when Sir William Hamilton undertook to publish them he was obliged to consult the memoranda of the pupils by whom they had been attended, and he found none so complete as those taken originally in shorthand, and subsequently copied out, by Henry Temple, who,

Remarks.

speaking of this time,* says, "I lived with Dugald Stewart, and attended his lectures at the University. In these three years I laid the foundation of whatever useful knowledge and habits of mind I possess."

It should be added, that if the scholar so highly esteemed the advantages he owed to his professor, the following letter will show that the professor entertained a high opinion of his scholar.

1801.

Extract from a Letter of Professor Dugald Stewart to Mr. Blane, dated Edinburgh, April 27, 1801.

"With regard to Mr. Temple, it is sufficient for me to say that he has constantly confirmed all the favourable impressions of him which I received from your letter. His talents are uncommonly good, and he does them all possible justice by assiduous application.

"In point of temper and conduct he is everything his friends could wish. Indeed, I cannot say that I have ever seen a more faultless character at his time of life, or one possessed of more amiable dispositions."

1803.

In 1803 the student from Edinburgh went to St. John's, Cambridge. He says†:—

Auto-
biography.

"I had gone further at Edinburgh in all the branches of study pursued at Cambridge than the course then followed at that university extended during the two first years of attendance. But the

* Autobiography.—I had better mention here that this autobiographical sketch, as it was placed in my hands, will be found entire in the Appendix to this volume (pages 367-83); but, to make a continuous narrative, I have inserted it in parts where the passages apply. This autobiographical sketch is entirely different from the Journal, which I also quote.

† *Ibid.*

Edinburgh system consisted in lectures without examination; at Cambridge there was a half-yearly examination. It became necessary to learn more accurately at Cambridge what one had learned generally at Edinburgh. The knowledge thus acquired of details at Cambridge was worth nothing, because it evaporated soon after the examinations were over. The habit of mind acquired by preparing for these examinations was highly useful.

“Dr. Outram, my private tutor at Cambridge, more than once observed to me that, as I had always been in the first class at college examinations, and had been commended for the general regularity of my conduct, it would not be amiss to turn my thoughts to standing for the University whenever a vacancy might happen.

“My father had died in April, 1802, and I lost my mother in January, 1805.* The last misfortune

* Henry Temple, now become Lord Palmerston, thus expresses himself as to this great loss:—

“Broadlands, Jan. 31, 1805.

“MY DEAR SULIVAN,

“You will, I am sure, not attribute to any other than the real motive my not having before this answered your very affectionate letter. The kindness and sympathy of friends afford indeed one of the few alleviations of which such afflictions as ours are susceptible, and I am confident none feel more than you do. Consolation is impossible: there are losses which nothing can repair; and griefs which time may fix and mellow, but never can obliterate. After the example, however, of fortitude and resignation set us by a being who was the model of every human excellence, it would be criminal in us not to imitate the resignation as well as every other perfection of her character.

“She was conscious, it is true, that she was but passing to that happiness which her virtues had secured her; and beheld with calm-

Auto-
biography.

delayed a few months the taking of my degree as master of arts, which it was usual at that time for noblemen to take as an honour, conferred without examination, at the end of two years after admission.

"In January, 1806, Mr. Pitt died, and the University had to choose a new member, as well as the King a new minister.

"I was just of age, and had not yet taken my degree, nevertheless I was advised by my friends at St. John's to stand: the other candidates were Lord Althorp and Lord Henry Petty. I was supported by my own college, and by the exertions of the friends of my family; but the Pitt party in the University was broken up. Most men thought that the new Government would for many years have the disposal of the patronage as well as the command of the power of the country; and I stood at the poll

ness and composure an event which, to the generality of mankind, comes clad with all the terrors of doubt. It will, I am sure, give you satisfaction to hear that my sisters are as well as after such a loss could be expected. William comes to-morrow. My uncle is gone to London to meet and bring him down here. Adieu. Pray remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Sullivan, and believe me ever yours affectionately,

"PALMERSTON."

Lord and Lady Palmerston left, in addition to the subject of this biography, one son, Sir William Temple, K.C.B., who died August 24, 1856, H.M.'s Minister at Naples, and two daughters, Fanny and Elizabeth, the latter of whom married, December 6, 1811, Lord Palmerston's college friend Mr. Sullivan, to whom the letter I have just quoted was addressed, and the former, August 9, 1820, Captain, afterwards Admiral, Sir William Bowles.

where a young man circumstanced as I was could alone expect to stand ; that is to say, last :—

Auto-
biography.

*Petty	331
†Althorp	145
Palmerston	128

“It was an honour, however, to have been supported at all, and I was well satisfied with my fight.”

Lord Palmerston (whom I henceforth designate by the title he had inherited) was no doubt right ; to have stood for one of our great universities, before he had even taken his degree at it, with any chance of success, took a young man at once out of the crowd of young men and brought him individually into notice.

Neither did his success as a candidate seem at one time improbable, if we may judge of his prospects by a letter written during the election, which seems pretty well charged with the electricity of youth and hope :—

“St. John’s, Jan. 28, 1806. Letters.

“MY DEAR SULIVAN,

“Things go on very well, thanks to you, Shee, and the Malmesburys. This morning’s accounts from town were excellent ; here we advance too, I

* Afterwards Lord Lansdowne. He had just been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† Then a Junior Lord of the Treasury ; well known as leader of the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1830 to 1834, when he became, on the death of his father, Earl Spencer.

Letters.

think. Mansel* has promised not to oppose me. Pearce, Sumner, Milner, Turner are for me, and, I hope, the masters of Emanuel and Catherine Hall. I am very glad to hear Lord Spencer declares Althorp shall not yield to Petty. ‘*Divide et impera*’ is true and applicable. The Duke of Rutland stands for the High Stewardship against Lord Hardwicke;† and unless Charles Yorke comes forward in our support, St. John’s will not support Lord Hardwicke, in which case the Duke will certainly carry his point. If you know any of the Yorke faction, mention that I have written to Charles Yorke,‡ and given him a broad hint about it. Wood has spoken decisively to some of his friends here. I wrote in the same strain the other day to the Bishop of Ely§ (of course, very civil), but hitherto he has not taken the hint. The Duke’s declaration this morning, however, will bring things to a crisis. It is, on the whole, a good thing for me.

* Dr. Mansel was Master of Trinity, afterwards Bishop of Bristol; Dr. Pearce, Master of Jesus, Master of the Temple, and Dean of Ely; Dr. Sumner, Provost of King’s; Dr. Milner, President of Queen’s and Dean of Carlisle; Dr. Turner, Master of Pembroke and Dean of Norwich, and also Vice-Chancellor that year.

† Not unjustly described in Cobbett’s “Political Register,” when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, as “a gentleman chiefly distinguished for his good library in St. James’s Square, and understanding the fattening of sheep as well as any man in Cambridgeshire.” Nevertheless, he beat the Duke of Rutland in the contest for the High Stewardship of the University, and retained it till his death in 1834.

‡ The Right Hon. Charles Yorke, half-brother of Lord Hardwicke, was afterwards one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Admiralty from June 23, 1810, to March, 1812.

§ The Hon. James Yorke, uncle of Lord Hardwicke, and of Charles Yorke.

The small colleges cannot but look with jealousy upon Trinity, when they see it start candidates for every honour in the gift of the university: the representation, the High Stewardship, and the Duke of Gloucester for the Chancellorship. Little Gill and I are as thick as three in a bed, and he talks of the great civilities experienced from his particular friend Lord Grantham.*

“I am glad I know Petty and Althorp, as, since we run foul of each other perpetually, it would otherwise be awkward. I took my degree yesterday, and got a very short buttering. Outram was taken quite unawares, and did not expect to be called upon till to-day or to-morrow, as the Vice-Chancellor thought no other business could be done the day the King’s answer was read. I heard that Percy† was expected this week; I hope he may come, if he intends to be of use to me, of which I have no doubt, if the old Boy will let him.

“Pray thank Knox for his friendly communications. The election will probably come on this day week. I own I *entertain strong hopes of success*, if my two rivals do not coalesce, and even then do not despair. At any rate, whatever be the event, I shall consider my having stood as one of the most fortunate circumstances of my life, it having procured me such

* Cousin to Lord Hardwicke. He was afterwards Earl de Grey.

† Afterwards third Duke of Northumberland, K.G., Ambassador Extraordinary in 1825 at the coronation of Charles X., King of France, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge from 1840 till his death in 1847.

Letters.

gratifying proofs of the warmth of my friends' attachment to me. Adieu! my dear Sullivan. I wrote to Shee* last night, but that with several other letters were, unluckily, too late for the confoundedly precise Cerberus of a fellow who guards the post office.

“ Ever yours affectionately,

“ PALMERSTON.”

Auto-
biography.

“ In November, 1806,” continuing from the manuscript sketch just quoted,† Lord Palmerston says, “ Parliament having been dissolved, a general election took place. Lord Fitz-Harris‡ and I stood for Horsham. The borough was burgage-tenure, and the right of voting disputed.

“ There was a double return ; each party petitioned, and the committee seated our opponents.

“ Fitz-Harris and I paid each about 1,500*l.* for the pleasure of sitting under the gallery for a week in our capacity of petitioners. We thought ourselves very unlucky ; but in a short time came the change of government and the dissolution in May, 1807, and

* Sir George Shee, second baronet, was born June 14, 1784 (a few months before Lord Palmerston). He was the son of Sir George Shee, who filled successively the offices of Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, Secretary of the Treasury, and Receiver-General in Ireland, and Under-Secretary of State in England. The son was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1830 to 1834, and was appointed in 1834 Minister at Berlin, and in 1835 was transferred to Stuttgart, where he remained till 1844. He died in London January 25, 1870.

† Autobiography.

‡ Afterwards second Earl of Malmesbury, father of the present peer. He was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for a few months in 1807.

we then rejoiced in our good fortune at not having paid 5,000*l.* (which would have been its price) for a three months' seat. Auto-
biography.

"I was at Broadlands at Easter, 1807, when, on the 1st April, I received a letter from Lord Malmesbury, desiring me to come up to town immediately, as he had found me a seat, if not in Parliament, at least at the Admiralty. Appointed a
Lord of the
Admiralty.

"The Duke of Portland* had been appointed First Lord of the Treasury. He was an old and intimate friend of Lord Malmesbury, who had been one of my guardians, Lord Chichester† being the other; and he had obtained from the Duke that I should be one of the Junior Lords of the Admiralty."‡

Shortly after this we see young Palmerston standing again for Cambridge.

"When Parliament was dissolved I stood again for Cambridge, and having entered the lists when

* He had already been Prime Minister, in 1783, of the administration which combined Fox and Lord North, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1782. He died in 1809.

† Lord Chichester, as Mr. Pelham, had for many years been M.P. for Sussex. In 1788 he was secretary to Lord Northampton, and in 1795 to Lord Camden, when they filled the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He was Secretary of State for the Home Department from July 30, 1801, to July 17, 1803, and in 1807 Postmaster-General. His birth took place in 1756, and he died July 4, 1826. He was the father of the present Earl.

‡ Lord Palmerston's father, who had represented East Looe, Hastings, Boroughbridge, and Winchester in the House of Commons, had occupied a similar post in the Duke of Grafton's administration in 1766.

Auto-
biography.

nothing perhaps could be reasonably expected but an honourable defeat, I had established a kind of right to support from the Government and its friends in preference to any other ministerial candidate.

“It was, however, considered that one candidate against two would have no chance; and Sir Vicary Gibbs was sent down to assist me against Lord Euston* and Lord Henry Petty. But I soon found that my colleague was as dangerous as my opponents, and that every supporter of the Government who had but one vote to give was requested to give it to Gibbs.†

* Afterwards fourth Duke of Grafton, K.G., and grandfather of the present Duke. His father was Chancellor of the University at the time.

† Attorney-General, and successively a Puisne Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (June, 1812), Lord Chief Baron (Nov. 1813), and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (April, 1817). He resigned Nov. 1818, and died Feb. 9, 1820; aged 68. “Endowed by Nature with acuteness and an unlimited power of application, he became, to use his own somewhat unseemly expression towards as considerable a man as himself, and a far more amiable one (Mr. Justice Bayley), ‘as good a lawyer as that kind of man can be.’ Disciplined by an excellent classical education, the fruits of which stuck by him to the last, and somewhat acquainted with the favourite pursuits of Cambridge men, his taste was always correct, and his reasoning powers were as considerable as they ever can be in a mind of his narrow range. . . . In the House of Commons he really had no place at all; and feeling his nullity, there was no place to which he was with more visible reluctance dragged by the power that office gives the Government over its lawyers. He could only obtain a hearing upon legal questions, and those he handled not with such felicity or force as repaid the attention of the listener. He seldom attempted more than to go through the references from one Act of Parliament to another; and though he was doing only a mechanical work, he gave out each sentence as if he had been gifted and consulted like an oracle, and looked and spoke as if when citing a section he was making a discovery.”—*Statesmen of the Time of George III.* By Lord Brougham.

“ Our committees canvassed separately, and there was no coalition. The night, however, before the polling began, Gibbs and myself and the chairmen of our committees met to go over our returns. It appeared doubtful from the books who was the strongest, and there was no sufficient evidence to show who ought to give up in order to bring in the other ; for Lord Euston was known to be stronger than either, and the only question was whether one of us could beat Lord Henry Petty. We therefore agreed to combine, and that each should give to the other the second votes of all his disposable plumpers. Auto-
biography.

“ Towards the end of the polling Sir Vicary Gibbs came up to me in the Senate House, and said that my friends were not acting up to my agreement, and were going to plump for me. I said I would immediately see that this was not done, and went and placed myself at the bar through which the voters went up to poll, that I might beg each man as he went by to vote for Gibbs as well as for me.

“ Dr. Outram,* my tutor, was standing there. He urged me to let my friends do as they chose. That they wanted to bring me in, and not Gibbs. That the votes had been counted by people in the galleries posted for that purpose. That Euston was far ahead, and Gibbs was running me hard. That my committee and a few more stanch friends had reserved

* Public Orator; afterwards Canon of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Derby.

Auto-
biography.

their votes, and if they plumped for me I should certainly come in, but that if they split their votes I should be thrown out. That they were no parties to the agreement of the night before, and were not to be bound by it.

“I said this would not do. I was bound in honour. Gibbs’s friends had, I believed, given me their second votes; but be that as it might, and be the result what it might, I must insist, if they had the slightest regard for me, on their giving—every man of them—a second vote to Gibbs.

“They consented, though with much ill humour and grumbling; and Gibbs beat me by four votes.

“It turned out that I had no reason to complain of want of good faith, as Gibbs, after all, had only seven plumpers whilst I had twelve.”

The following letter relates to the same circumstances that Lord Palmerston has just been recounting. Both illustrate his simple straightforward way of looking at right and wrong, and display a character which was of more advantage to him on commencing life than a mere seat in Parliament.

“Cambridge, May 8, 1807. Letters.
“12 o'clock Friday night.

“MY DEAR SULIVAN,

“We are beat by four votes.

Result of
contest.

Euston	324
Gibbs	313
Palmerston	310
Petty	265

“It is provoking to think that four men wished me in the Senate House to let them give me plumpers instead of giving their second votes to Gibbs. I did not conceive myself at liberty to recede from the agreement I had made, particularly as Gibbs had honourably adhered to it; and these four votes turned the scale. However, I did not certainly expect so large a number of supporters, and possibly at some future time I may meet with better success. The poll continued open till ten o'clock, and the votes have only just been declared. I mean to remain here two days longer, just to thank my voters, and shall then return to town. Adieu! many many thanks for your kindness and labours.

“Believe me ever yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

“Soon after this” (I quote again the autobiography) “I came into Parliament for Newtown in the Isle of Wight, a borough of Sir Leonard Holmes’.

Auto-biography.
Elected for
Newtown.

One condition required was, that I would never, even for the election, set foot in the place. So jealous

Auto-
biography.

was the patron lest any attempt should be made to get a new interest in the borough."

Remarks.

Lord Palmerston was thus at last in that great council wherein he sat so long, and played eventually so conspicuous a part. Nor was he altogether untrained for the career he entered upon, as may be proved by some extracts from a journal that he commenced in June, 1806, and carried on till the formation of the Portland Ministry—when he seems for a time to have abandoned it.

His observations in this journal on the policy of Napoleon, who, he says, instead of concealing his projects in order to take his enemies by surprise, published them purposely beforehand, in order that, the world being accustomed to expect them, might not be shocked when he executed them, are shrewd and profound; his description of the Prussian campaign, memorable for the defeat at Jena, is good and graphic. His remarks on the death of Fox are, for one who was so ardent an admirer of Fox's great rival, liberal and impartial; his accounts of the different election contests are interesting, as describing the parliamentary manners of the times; and his review of the conduct of the Whigs in the quarrel with George III., which ended by their dismissal—though evidently that of a Tory partizan—is an able and considerate statement for so young and decided an opponent.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL.*

1806.

Journal.

June 29.

On the 12th of June, Lord Melville's trial in Westminster Hall was brought to a conclusion. The proceedings in the Hall had lasted fifteen days, after which the Lords had discussed the evidence for eight or ten with their doors shut. In the course of these discussions two questions were submitted to the judges, which were very material in influencing the ultimate decision of the Lords.

The first question was, whether, subsequent to the Act by which the office of Treasurer of the Navy was regulated, it was legal for the Treasurer to take money from the Bank and vest it in the hands of a private banker, provided that such money was drawn *bonâ fide* for naval purposes.

* *Note to this Journal by Lord Palmerston.*—The opinions and remarks contained in this volume are the exact expressions of my feelings at the moment when they were written. Upon many points, however, relative both to persons and things, cooler reflection, and a few more years' observation and experience, have, as is natural, very much altered my sentiments.—P., April 15, 1812.

Journal.

The judges were unanimously of opinion that there was no provision in the Act forbidding such a transfer of the public money.

The second question was, whether, previous to the passing of the above-mentioned Act, but subsequent to the issuing of the warrant by which the salary of the Treasurer of the Navy was increased upon condition of his not making use of the public money, his having made use of that money would subject him to a criminal or to a civil prosecution. Upon this the judges also unanimously declared that such an act would render the Treasurer liable to a civil prosecution only.

These two decisions led the public to expect the acquittal, which was pronounced by a large majority of the Lords on the 12th. The question of "Guilty or Not Guilty" was put by the Chancellor to each Lord in succession upon each article separately. But had it been put upon the whole case collectively, Lord Melville would still have been acquitted, as out of 135 who attended the trial, 57 acquitted him on every article. The Scotch evinced their joy upon this occasion by general illuminations.

July 9.

Illness of Fox. Fox's illness, which has for some time confined him, has within these few days assumed a more alarming appearance, and is supposed to be a decided dropsy; his legs were, a day or two since, scarified and much water taken from them.

The King's health is extremely good. He walks Journal. as firmly as anybody at his age (68) could be expected to do, and scarcely avails himself, when on the terrace, of the assistance of a stick which he holds in his hand. His eyes, however, are scarcely of the smallest use to him.

July 15.

Negotiations for peace appear to be going on with Negotiations. much activity. Messengers are continually passing backwards and forwards between Paris and London.

Fox is extremely anxious to conclude peace, having disapproved the war from its commencement; but how Lord Grenville can join in that wish is not easy to conceive.

Neither do the acts and language of Buonaparte bear a very pacific appearance. The establishment of Louis as King of Holland,* and a declaration implying that he will insist upon the restitution of the Dutch colonies, present some difficulties to any negotiation; but, indeed, if we are to have peace now it seems very immaterial what the terms may be, as any peace at present would be ruinous. To disband our forces and dismantle our navy would be, in the existing state of things, impossible, as no reliance could be placed on Buonaparte's pacific professions; and if a large military and naval establishment has to be kept up, *we should suffer*

* On July 5, 1806.

Journal.

*all the expenses of a war without enjoying any of its advantages.**

Fox has lately been better, and is said to be in no immediate danger; but such a complication of disorders as he now labours under cannot fail, at his time of life, to prove fatal.

London, July 23.

Prorogation of
Parliament.

Parliament was this day prorogued by commission. The speech was short, and contained little. It concludes by saying that, "His Majesty, being always anxious for the restoration of peace on just and honourable terms, is engaged in discussions with a view to the accomplishment of this most desirable end."

The Parliament was prorogued till the 28th of August.

A change has taken place in the Russian Cabinet. Czartoryski† has resigned, and is succeeded by Count

* The correspondence of Napoleon, recently published, shows the justice of this argument, which at the time was not unreasonably disputed.

† Prince Adam Czartoryski, descended from the Jagellons, was born in 1770, and educated in England. He fought against Russia in the war on the second partition of Poland in 1793, and on the defeat of the Poles was taken to St. Petersburg, where he was patronized by the Emperor Paul, and became the friend and favourite of the Emperor Alexander, who intrusted him for a time with the department of Foreign Affairs, which post he filled till the peace of Tilsit. The high places he had occupied in the Russian Government had never alienated him from his own country, and in the Revolution of 1830, he suffered himself to be placed at the head of the National Government; risking thereby his immense fortune and estates in Poland, which, after the

Budberg. The former was a favourite with the *Journal*. young Empress. But a reconciliation having taken place between her and the Emperor, the minister is dismissed, and a lady whom the Emperor is said to have preferred sent to travel.

July 29.

A separate peace has been signed between France and Russia at Paris.*

Gaeta still continues to hold out under the Prince of Hesse, and Sir Sidney Smith has thrown some succours into the town, which have restored the spirits of the besieged. Joseph Buonaparte has taken possession of Naples and declared himself King of the Two Sicilies. He will not find the island so easy a conquest as the continent. Our force there amounts to near ten thousand men, and a reinforcement is now fitting out from Ramsgate.

Minto, August 2.

This day Lord Lauderdale left London for Paris, in order to carry on the negotiations which had been commenced between the two Courts. Professor Stewart accompanied him; but it is not known whether he went in any official capacity, or merely

Lord Lauderdale goes to Paris.

suppression of the insurrection, were confiscated. He, however, escaped to Paris, where he died a few years ago at a very advanced age, devoted to the last to the cause of his country and the relief of the poor and exiled of his countrymen.

* On the 20th of July by M. d'Oubril, afterwards disavowed by Russia.

Journal.

as a private individual. The selection of Lord Lauderdale as a negotiator does not lead one to form any favourable conjectures as to the termination of the negotiations. A man who has professed such violent principles,* and has shown himself such an advocate for France, cannot be supposed to be very hearty in the cause he has undertaken, or likely very strenuously to uphold the honour and interests of his country; and though, probably, but little would be left to his discretion, yet the anxiety displayed by ministers to send a man who should be the most agreeable to Buonaparte and Talleyrand indicates a spirit of concession not very consonant with the dignity of the country they govern.†

Edinburgh, August 21.

Nearly three weeks have elapsed since Lord Lauderdale set out for Paris, during which nothing has transpired respecting the object of his mission. On the whole, however, the aspect of affairs grows more warlike.

August 26.

Rhenish
Confederacy.

It is a singular circumstance in Buonaparte's political conduct that, so far from concealing his designs, he

* Thought at that time to be what we should now call a great radical, and even to have sympathised with the Irish rebels. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Fox. He died in 1839, in his eighty-first year.

† *Subsequent Note by Lord Palmerston.*—Lord Lauderdale's judicious and spirited conduct during his embassy fully justified the appointment. But so far from his being agreeable to Buonaparte, the latter is said to have asked, when Lord L. was named to him, "Pourquoi m'envoie-t-on ce Lor Jacobin? Croit-on que j'aime les Jacobins?" (April, 1812.)

purposely publishes even the most violent of his projected innovations some time before they are put in execution ; and the consequence has uniformly been, that instead of being alarmed and prepared to resist, the world has, by anticipating conquests and changes, become by degrees reconciled to them, and submitted almost without a murmur to the mandates of the tyrant. It is thus that for some years he has thrown out hints of some grand confederated European system of which he is to be the head, and of which the hitherto independent States around him are to be the subordinate members. At length his plans have been more boldly exhibited, and, by a sort of manifesto lately issued from the Cabinet of St. Cloud, the whole German Constitution is declared to be dissolved, and a union, called "the Rhenish Confederacy," is established,* of which France is the protector. The Constitution is digested into about thirty articles, enumerating the States which are included, namely—France, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, &c. ; inviting others to join, and instituting an alliance offensive and defensive among all the members of the league, settling the quotas of troops to be furnished by each of the parties, and providing, among other arrangements, that if any neighbouring State or States shall arm, the Confederacy shall do the same as a matter of precaution.

The election of Cardinal Fesch as Arch-Chancellor of the Empire gave rise to a remonstrance on the

* July 12, 1806.

Journal.

part of the Emperor of Austria, to which Buonaparte has since replied—that as there now exists no Empire there can be no cause or pretext for complaint. The Emperor was, indeed, immediately upon the formation of the Rhenish Confederacy, required to resign his crown, with which demand he has without hesitation complied; and in a public instrument published at Vienna the 7th of this month, he declares the German Constitution dissolved, and renounces a title which, he says, the present state of Europe renders useless. Thus has that confederacy of states, which has for ages occupied the attention of statesmen, been annihilated by the decree of a man who, little more than ten years ago, might have considered it as the summit of his ambition to equal in power the smallest of its independent princes.

Capture of
Gaeta.

Gaeta, after an obstinate resistance, has been obliged to capitulate.* The Prince of Hesse was wounded by a cannon-ball while inspecting the breach, and his absence was soon followed by a capitulation. The Calabrians still continue to hold out against King Joseph.

Fox has been tapped, and has, of course, received immediate relief from the operation; but the dropsy is an incurable complaint, and he will, probably, not survive another year.

* July 12, 1806.

Sept. 10. Journal.

The Emperor of Russia has refused to ratify the treaty signed at Paris by d'Oubril.* It was submitted to his council for discussion, and, after much deliberation, rejected.† The terms were reported to be so disgraceful to Russia that a ratification would have been submission to France.

Sir John Stuart has gained a splendid victory, Victory of
Maida. near Maida, on the plain of St. Euphemia, in Calabria. He landed at the town of that name with four thousand men. Regnier, who commanded in that district, fell back in order to concentrate his forces, and was posted with seven thousand men at Maida. Sir J. Stuart advanced to attack him, and, after an obstinate engagement, totally routed him. The French fled in all directions, leaving a thousand dead on the field. Those who were taken in the battle, and picked up among the woods and mountains afterwards, amounted to three thousand; the last accounts which came away from Messina state that on the 25th Regnier was at Colrone, surrounded by the Calabrian levy in mass, and that by the assistance of the English he would probably be obliged to surrender. The Calabrians appear to have harassed the French excessively, and

* D'Oubril, though deprived of his post and left out of employment, was not disgraced, and doubts have been entertained as to whether he had really exceeded his instructions, or as to whether it was deemed advisable to say he had done so.

† It has been alluded to before as a fact accomplished.

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to be actuated by the most violent detestation of their new masters. The above-mentioned victory was gained entirely by the undaunted bravery of the British troops. Two corps of equal force were opposed to each other at the distance of a hundred yards; after a few rounds had been fired they, as it were, by mutual agreement ceased firing, and advanced to the charge. When, however, their bayonets were just crossing, the French were panic-struck, and fled with precipitation, but too late to prevent their entire annihilation. This decided the fate of the day; our loss was trifling.*

Walcot Park, Sept. 16.

Fox's death.

On Saturday last, Sept. 13, Mr. Fox expired. He had been tapped three times. His last moments were free from pain, and he retained his faculties till a very short time before his death. He had transacted business three days previous to this event with as much coolness as if he had been in perfect health. It is singular that the two great rival statesmen should have died in the same year; that the one

* *Note by Lord Palmerston.*—January, 1807.—This victory was not followed by any of the important consequences which we were led to anticipate. Sir John Stuart re-embarked and retired to Sicily, where he was soon after superseded by General Fox. Had our force in Sicily been as numerous as it ought, there is no doubt but that after the affair at Maida we might have expelled the new King of Naples. But the pending negotiations seemed to have completely paralysed all the energies of ministers, as they sent out no forces anywhere until Lord Lauderdale's return.

should have obtained that high station to which he Journal. aspired only by the death of the other, and have found in the attainment of this object of his wishes the cause which accelerated his own demise. Had Fox lived in times less troublesome than those in which he was thrown—or had he not been opposed to such a rival as Pitt—he would, undoubtedly, have been ranked not only among those statesmen the brilliancy of whose genius has reflected honour upon the country that produced them, but among those illustrious patriots whose names, consecrated by the applause of a grateful people, are held up to the admiration of posterity as fathers of their country and benefactors of the human race. He set out in life by being the supporter of the royal prerogative, and took part with the Crown against Wilkes. But being thrown into opposition by Pitt, he quitted a line in which he saw his rival would eclipse him, and became a strenuous advocate for the rights of the popular part of our constitution. In this course the ardour of his temper carried him further than prudence could justify; and, as it generally happens in controversies, he frequently in the violence of debate supported doctrines which, perhaps, his cooler reflection would have led him to disavow. With this impetuosity of temper it is less to be wondered at than regretted that, in the general delirium produced by the French Revolution, he should have been infected with the disorder, and have connected himself with the most frantic of the reformers. It

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was well remarked in one of the papers of the day, that there scarcely ever lived a statesman *for whom as an individual the people felt more affection, or in whom as a politician they placed less confidence.*

Park Place, Oct. 5.

Capture of five
French
frigates.

Sir Samuel Hood, with two seventy-fours and a sixty-four, the *Mars*, fell in,* off Rochefort, with a French squadron, consisting of five frigates and a sloop. The French, it is supposed, mistook our men-of-war for Indiamen, as they allowed themselves to be overtaken. As soon as our headmost ship came up a severe engagement took place, which terminated in the capture of four of the frigates. The other having escaped, in company with the sloop, one of our men-of-war was detached in pursuit. The loss on our side was nine killed and thirty-two wounded. That of the enemy must have been great, as they had on board two thousand land troops, destined, it is supposed, for the West Indies. Another French frigate was taken at the same time by another squadron. They are all fine ships of the first class. Sir Samuel Hood was the only officer wounded. His right arm was shattered by a bullet, and was immediately amputated.

New ministerial
appointments.

The new ministerial arrangements are at length completed. Lord Howick† succeeds Mr. Fox in the

* September 25th.

† Afterwards Earl Grey, of the Reform Bill.

Foreign Department; T. Grenville* goes to the Admiralty instead of Lord Howick, and is succeeded at the Board of Control by Tierney. Lord Sidmouth† is made President of the Council instead of Lord Fitzwilliam, who resigns, but retains a seat in the Cabinet; and Lord Holland becomes Privy Seal in place of "the Doctor." General FitzPatrick‡ goes to some inferior situation, and is succeeded by Whitbread.§ The administration will not gain much strength by this arrangement: the only new acquisition is Tierney, who is undoubtedly an able and useful man. T. Grenville they had already in the

* T. Grenville, brother to Lord Grenville, well known as a man of the world and a great friend and follower of Mr. Fox, who employed him, when Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1782 on a mission to France,—his complaints during which, of the intrigues of Lord Shelburne, were amongst the causes of Fox's rupture with that statesman.

† Created Viscount Sidmouth Jan. 12, 1805, after having been, as Mr. Addington, Mr. Pitt's successor in 1801. His nickname of "the Doctor," derived from his sedate manner, and also from his being the son of a physician, stuck to him during life; and the necessity of pleasing George III., which introduced him into so many administrations, justified Mr. Canning's witticism that he was like the small-pox, that every one was obliged to have once in their lives. His character and ability are best described by Sir Henry Holland in his interesting volume of *Recollections*:—"When he told me, as he often did, that no events of the day had ever ruffled his night's sleep, he described one effect of that temperament which protracted his life to nearly ninety" (he died in 1844), "but left little else of lasting history to the world."

‡ General FitzPatrick was one of those men who occupy no place in history, but are so interesting in memoirs. Brother of Lord Ossory, he was Secretary at War in 1783; he spoke well, wrote society verses, served with distinction in America, and, to crown his reputation in the drawing-rooms and clubs, went up in a balloon when those aerial vehicles were coming into fashion.

§ This last arrangement never took place.

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Board of Control; and that situation would have sufficed for him. Whitbread would have been as much at the disposal of ministers in debate, although no office had been given him; and indeed his oratory is much better suited to the violence of Opposition than to the grave and dignified office of defending ministerial measures. The only accession of numerical strength which Lord Grenville has made since last session has been the Northumberland interest, which he has succeeded in conciliating. The Duke of Northumberland, who had long been a partizan of Fox, was much offended last year at not being consulted upon the subject of the ministerial arrangements that took place upon the death of Mr. Pitt, and complained that the first intelligence he received of the formation of the Government was from his porter. During the whole of the last session he appeared undecided in his politics; and in the debates that took place upon Windham's military plan, his members were actually ordered to divide with the Opposition. Towards the latter end of July, however, Lord Percy came into Parliament for the borough of Buckingham, one of the Marquis of Buckingham's seats, thus proclaiming in the most public way the Duke's union with the Grenvilles. It is only upon the supposition that it was meant to be an open declaration of his political opinions that it is possible to account for a step so disgraceful to the family of Percy; and indeed one could hardly have supposed that any consideration would have induced

the Duke of Northumberland—having, it is said, *Journal*, seven seats at his command—to owe it as an obligation to Lord Buckingham that his son is a member of Parliament. This affair is the more extraordinary as he had, it seems, resolved that Percy should stand for Westminster on the death of Fox, and he must have foreseen that the latter event would, in all human probability, take place before the meeting of Parliament. Accordingly, as soon as Mr. Fox was dead, Lord Percy offered himself as his successor at Westminster, supported by Lord Grenville's party. Sheridan had always been destined by the Foxites to succeed to Fox's seat, if by any event it became vacant; and it excited some surprise that the Grenvilles should set up a candidate to oppose him. The excuse given by Lord Grenville was that he had been told by some third person that Mr. Sheridan did not mean to stand. It was for some days doubtful whether Sheridan would contest the point or not, and the Grenville papers gave him some hints not to "*quarrel with his bread and butter.*" Finding, however, that the rest of his party preferred remaining in office to supporting him, and that the whole ministerial influence would be exerted against him, at a meeting of the electors he pronounced a beautiful panegyric upon Fox, detailed some well-invented reasons which prevented him from standing, and concluded by recommending his friends to concur in supporting Lord Percy. The electors, however, were not so easily satisfied;

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and after resolving that Sheridan was a proper person to be elected, that they regretted he had declined, and that in their opinion Lord Percy was not a proper person, they adjourned the meeting in order to find some eligible man. Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Curran, and Mr. Paull,* were successively applied to in vain; none chose to enter into a contest with a man supported by Grenvillites, Foxites, and Pittites, and at length, for want of any other candidate, the Westminster electors were obliged to choose Lord Percy.

Oct. 11.

Rupture of the negotiations.

A telegraphic despatch was received yesterday at the Admiralty from Deal, stating that a messenger was just come over from Paris with the intelligence that Lord Lauderdale was immediately to return; that he had got his passports, and was to leave Paris on the 8th. A bulletin was sent to the Lord Mayor, who immediately went to the Exchange, where he read it to the merchants. They received the news with *three cheers*, and in every part of London it occasioned the most lively demonstrations of joy,—so firmly is everybody impressed with the conviction that none but a dishonourable peace could

* Paull had returned from India with charges against Lord Wellesley's administration, for which he failed to obtain the hearing he desired, but which attracted to him for a time much popularity, ending at last in a bitter disappointment. He ran Sheridan very closely in the Westminster election of 1806; quarrelled and fought a duel with Burdett shortly before his victory over Sheridan in the contested election of 1807; and in 1808 died by his own hand.

have been obtained, and that continued war is pre-Journal. ferable to an ignominious treaty. It is said that our Government did not expect Lord Lauderdale's return so soon, but that it arose from some categorical demand on his part.

In a work by F. Gentz, entitled "Fragments upon the Political Balance of Europe," published in 1806, is the following excellent definition of the meaning affixed to *peace* by Buonaparte :

"What, in his vocabulary, is meant by *peace*—the liberty of doing whatever is suggested to him by the feelings of unbounded power or momentary desire, and the unconditional subjection of his neighbours to every form of his increased and insupportable domination."—*Vide* page 323.

Dec. 30.

A succession of events as rapid and extraordinary as those which occurred in the close of the last year, have marked the termination of this. In 1805, Europe saw with astonishment the ancient and powerful empire of Austria laid in the dust in the course of three months. The battle of Ulm, the consequent surrenders of the Austrian army, and the battle of Austerlitz, reduced the Emperor to the abject conditions of the treaty of Presburg. This year one single battle has annihilated the former rival of Austria.

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War between
France and
Prussia.

Prussia and France had for some time been upon terms less friendly than their usual good understanding—when the publication of the Rhenish Confederacy and the demand of Buonaparte for some of the smaller possessions of Prussia, in order to complete his confederate system, opened the eyes of the latter; and convinced the Prussian court that the unprincipled system of aggression, which they had assisted France in enforcing against every other state of Europe, would at length be applied against itself, and that it had no choice left but resistance, or an unconditional acknowledgment of vassalage and submission. The King of Prussia sent, therefore, to Buonaparte three demands; to which he required an answer by the 8th of October. These were, that the French troops should retire from Germany, that no opposition should be made by France to the establishment of a *Northern Coalition*,* of which *Prussia should be the chief and protectress*, in order to counterbalance the Rhenish Confederacy. In the mean time both parties prepared for the contest, which now became inevitable, since it was very obvious that Buonaparte could not with honour accede to the requisitions of Prussia. By the 8th both sides were in the field; the Prussians commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, the French by Buonaparte. After some partial skirmishes, in one of which Prince

Battle of Jena
or Auerstadt.

* A project which it seems had even then been formed, and, as it usually happens with plans long meditated, was ultimately consummated.

Louis of Prussia was killed in defending the passage of a bridge, a general and decisive battle took place on the 14th between Jena and Auerstadt, which ended in the total defeat and annihilation of the Prussian army. The force on each side was nearly equal, amounting to about 120,000 men. The two armies had for some days been near each other; but the Prussians were so destitute of intelligence that they did not know where the French were till a day or two before the action. The reason of this is stated to have been the spirit of desertion prevalent in the army, which rendered it useless to send out patrols, who generally joined the enemy instead of returning with intelligence. Two days before the battle 10,000 French penetrated between the centre and left wing of the Prussians, got to Naumburg in their rear, and burnt their magazines. The two armies were at that time in the following positions: the French at Mulhausen, Eisenach, and Gotha; the Prussians at Erfurt, Jena, and Zeist. Upon finding that a body of the enemy had got into their rear, and that the main body of the enemy were making a demonstration to turn their left wing, the Prussians threw that wing back. In the mean time the French fell upon them, and an action commenced which lasted from eight in the morning until three in the afternoon, when victory declared in favour of the French. The loss of the Prussians,—killed, wounded, and prisoners,—amounted to fifty thousand men, and the rest of the army was entirely

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dispersed. Mr. Ross, who went as secretary to Lord Morpeth, said the rout of the Prussians exceeded belief. The flying troops were scattered in all directions. Corps without their officers, and officers without their corps, cavalry and infantry, cannon and waggons, were all mixed in one general confusion. To rally or reassemble them was impossible, and the only limit to the captures and slaughter of the Prussians was the inability of the French to pursue them. The King fled to Berlin, whence he retired immediately to Custrin.*

Death of the
Duke of
Brunswick.

This day, the last of the Prussian monarchy, was also fatal to its veteran hero, the Duke of Brunswick. His regiment of grenadiers, a favourite corps, refused to charge. Enraged at this disgrace, and determined not to survive the calamities of the day, he seized a standard and rode headlong into the midst of the enemy. A French chasseur shot at him with his musket at a few yards' distance. The ball pierced the bridge of his nose, and he was carried off the field, senseless, by some of his officers, who had followed their commander. He was conveyed to Altona, where he languished some weeks in the

* *Note by Lord Palmerston.*—He fled from thence to Osterade, in the neighbourhood of Dantzic. Such was his apathy with regard to his affairs, that when Count M. Woronzow, who was sent from Petersburg on a mission to him, reached Osterade, he was immediately invited to attend the King on a hunting-party. They had good sport, and killed a wolf and an elk. The Queen, though ill and disgusted with this ill-timed amusement, was forced to join the party.

greatest agony, having been blinded by the wound, Journal. and at length expired, worn out by the sufferings of his mind as well as the torture of his body. Before his death he wrote a letter to Buonaparte, entreating that the neutrality of his states might be respected, since they had taken no part in the war, and urging that he acted as a general in the Prussian service, and not as Duke of Brunswick. Buonaparte having read the letter threw it down upon the table, and haughtily replied to the officer who brought it, "*Cette excuse ferait très-bien pour un conscrit, mais pas pour un prince souverain; ni lui ni aucun de ses enfans ne mettront jamais le pied dans le Duché de Brunswick.*" After his death, permission was requested to bury the Duke in the tomb of his ancestors, which the usurper arrogantly refused, saying he was unworthy to lie with them.

Lord Morpeth,* with his two secretaries, Ross and Frere, had been sent by Government, as soon as Lord Morpeth sent to Prussia. hostilities commenced between Prussia and France, to open a communication with the former. Lord Morpeth reached the head-quarters at Erfurt a few days before the battle, and finding the King of Prussia was preparing to withdraw, and that a general engagement was expected, he resolved to retire also. Instead, however, of following the King, he allowed himself to be taken in by Haugwitz, who desired he would follow him, and having described the way

* Afterwards sixth Earl of Carlisle, K.G.

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he meant to go, took another road. Lord Morpeth discovered the trick, pursued Haugwitz, and overtook him at Weimar the night before the action. Haugwitz, however, went off again early in the morning; and Lord Morpeth, after having been detained some time by a want of horses, set out to return to England by Nordhausen and Osterhausen. Soon after Lord Morpeth returned, ministers determined to send a military man, and Lord Hutchinson was selected; but a whole month at the most critical period was suffered to elapse before he sailed, and by that time the French had made such progress in Prussia that it was uncertain where Lord Hutchinson* would be able to land. Dantzic was believed to be the only place where it was practicable for him to disembark.

After such a signal overthrow as that of Jena, it is natural *to endeavour to find out reasons in the treachery or incapacity of the officers concerned, and it often happens that much injustice is in this manner done to men whose only fault has been a want of success.* In the present instance there can be no doubt that to the above-mentioned causes, in part, the defeat of the Prussians may be ascribed. All possible allowances

* A general officer, Colonel of the 18th Foot, G.C.B., and Governor of Stirling Castle. He succeeded to the command of the British army in Egypt in 1801, on the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and for his services was raised to the peerage, and granted a pension of £2,000 a year. He inherited the earldom of Donoughmore on the death of his brother, in 1825, and died without issue in 1832.

being made for superior skill and generalship on the Journal.
part of the French, still, had the Prussians done their duty, the catastrophe could not have been so complete. It is, however, known that they did not. In the first place, Haugwitz and Lombard, the two ministers of the King, were traitors. Lombard is a Frenchman by birth, a man of very low origin, and introduced by Haugwitz to the King; he was a known spy of the old French Government. If any circumstantial proof were wanting of Haugwitz's perfidy, the following account, given by Count Woronzow, ci-devant ambassador here from Russia, would be sufficient for his condemnation:—When first the Emperor of Russia found in the cabinet of Berlin a disposition to break with France, he sent an offer to renew his alliance of last year, and to put 150,000 men at the disposal of Prussia; the only request he made was, that General Zastrow, on whom he could rely, might be sent to Petersburg to arrange the march, etc., of the troops. For three weeks Haugwitz sent no answer to this offer, and at length sent, not Zastrow—whom it was alleged the King of Prussia could not spare—but some colonel, a creature of Haugwitz. This envoy, on his arrival, said that 150,000 men were too many by far; that for so large a force they had no magazines or supplies, but that if the Emperor would send 50,000 men they should be glad to receive them; the Russians, however, were by this time on their march; and subsequent events proved, that had the Emperor

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waited for Haugwitz's answer, or complied with his requests, the only chance of recovering Prussia would have been lost.

Military
character of
the Duke of
Brunswick.

It is said that some of the Prussian generals, amongst whom were Mollendorf and Hohenlohe, strongly urged the expediency of attacking the French as soon as possible after the 8th, the day fixed by the King as the last on which he should wait for an answer to his demands. The Duke of Brunswick, however, was for delay, and wished to wait the attack of the enemy, and his opinion prevailed. The Duke was a man who carried personal courage even to rashness,* but wanted that firmness and decision of character so necessary for a great commander. No one could execute with more ability and courage the orders of others, but, placed at the head of an army on which depended the fate of a kingdom, he shrunk from the responsibility of his situation, and lost in hesitation and doubt those moments which should have been employed in vigorous exertion. Had the Prussians attacked the French

* *Note by Lord Palmerston.*—His uncle said of him, when he served as a young man in the Low Countries, that he was the only person he had met with who really loved danger. Lord Malmesbury, when ambassador from England at the Hague, hearing that the Duke, who was then commanding in the Low Countries, exposed himself unnecessarily, wrote to him to request he would recollect the importance of his own life, and take more care of it. The Duke thanked him for his attention as one would thank a person who desired one not to catch cold, and added, that with regard to his life he was very indifferent about it, as he knew he should lose it "*par un coup de feu*;" a curious prophecy.

earlier, before they had collected and assembled their whole force, the event might have been very different; and at any rate, if they had been defeated, their army would not have been so entirely cut to pieces. By this delay, too, they suffered the French to take possession of a small knoll which commanded the field of battle, and on which the French established a battery of one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, whose fire mowed down whole ranks of the Prussians, and in a great measure decided the fate of the day. Of this they might have made themselves masters in the first instance; but when once the enemy had fortified it, it became impregnable, and we find in the bulletins that the Prussians failed in several attacks which they made upon it. But such was the treachery of some of the officers and the cowardice of most of the men, that at whatever time the battle had been fought, its fate would probably have been the same. The Duke of Brunswick's aide-de-camp, who caught him in his arms when he fell, and afterwards brought over his blue riband, said, that as soon as the *Feu de Mitraille* commenced the Prussians fled *comme des perdreaux*. A strong proof how inefficient mere parade discipline is towards making good soldiers, and that nothing but actual service will accomplish that end.

After the action, the Prussian army being, as has been already observed, entirely dispersed, and having the enemy interposed between them and the Oder, it could not make again any general stand. Some few

Retreat of the
Prussians.

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corps got into Magdeburg, but the largest number that escaped in a body were about twenty or thirty thousand under Prince Hohenlohe and General Blucher. Finding it impossible to get to the Oder in a straight line, Hohenlohe attempted to reach Stettin by a circuitous march. By uncommon exertions he succeeded in getting as far as Prentzlow, only seven German miles from Stettin, when the French overtook him; and his troops being worn out by excessive fatigue, and totally destitute of provisions, he was obliged to surrender with the main body of his corps, amounting to above sixteen thousand men. The rest, under Blucher, were at Liechen, behind him; and, hearing of his surrender, Blucher, despairing altogether of escape, determined to render his country all the service he could, and saw that the only thing in his power was to draw off a portion of the French army from the pursuit of the flying Prussians. Accordingly he began to retreat to the north-west, and having defended himself with the greatest skill and courage against three French divisions, each much superior in numbers to his own corps, he reached Lubeck. Here he meant to make a stand; but the town was forced, in consequence of the treachery of the officers who commanded one of the gates. Blucher had now no alternative but to violate the Danish territory, or sustain an attack by a force infinitely superior to his own. The first, for obvious reasons, he declined doing; and his men being reduced in numbers by the various actions they

Surrender of
Blucher.

had been compelled to fight, and weakened by the *Journal*. fatigues of three weeks' incessant forced marching, without having during that period tasted bread, and being almost starved, he was obliged to surrender. His force was reduced to nine thousand men, and he had the glory of having drawn from the Marches of Brandenburg to the shores of the Baltic three large divisions of the French army. Had all the Prussians behaved like Blucher, Buonaparte would have found the road to Berlin not quite so easy as he expected. The disaster at Jena was soon followed by the surrender of Magdeburg, Stettin, Custrin, and Gros Glogau. The easy capitulation of these places afforded another decisive proof of treachery somewhere. If, as was alleged by the officers commanding them, they were destitute of provisions and other supplies for sustaining a siege, Haugwitz deserved to be hanged for not taking his measures beforehand; if that be untrue, and they were able to make a defence, the officers who surrendered ought to be shot for their cowardice. Magdeburg is very strong, but Custrin is almost impregnable, being surrounded by the Oder and the Waarta on two sides, and on the other by deep morasses. Buonaparte having nothing to oppose his progress, marched to Berlin, and thence to Warsaw. The Russians, who had come with the expectation of joining a large Prussian army, found themselves too weak to resist long, and although they had advanced as far as Posna when the French got to Berlin, as the latter advanced they

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were obliged to retire and fall back upon their reinforcements.

Dissolution of
Parliament.

The Parliament, which had been summoned to meet for the despatch of business at the end of October, was unexpectedly dissolved. The country was taken completely by surprise, for although rumours of a dissolution had prevailed during the whole of the summer, the proclamation summoning Parliament for the end of October convinced people that, if dissolved at all, it would not be till the spring. It was, indeed, a sudden determination, and the King was not made acquainted with it till a week before the event took place. That it was a sudden resolution, or at least, if settled beforehand, not made known to the whole Cabinet, is proved by two advertisements from Windham to the Norfolk electors. In the first, published during the summer, he assured them that Government had not any intention of dissolving Parliament; and in the second, which immediately followed the dissolution, he said it was a measure unknown to him till a few days previous to its publication, contrary to his wishes and prejudicial to his interests; a singular declaration, certainly, from a Cabinet minister. The method adopted by ministers with regard to their borough seats was very politic and ingenious. They purchased seats from their friends at a low price, making up the deficiency probably by appointments and promotions. These seats they afterwards sold out at the average market price to men who promised them support; and with the difference they carried

on their contested elections. The sum raised in this Journal. manner was stated by a person who was in the secret to be inconceivably great, and accounts for an assertion afterwards made by Lord Grenville in the Lords, that "not one guinea of the public money had been spent in elections."* It may be imagined that if seats were bought for two thousand five hundred, or even two thousand pounds, and sold again for five thousand pounds, a comparatively small number of such transactions would furnish a considerable fund; and Government had so many seats passing through its hands that, at last, in one or two instances, it sold them to people who only professed themselves in general well disposed towards them, without exacting a pledge of unconditional support.

The elections were in general carried on very General Elections. quietly; the principal contests were in Westminster, Westminster. Middlesex, Southwark, Norfolk, and Hampshire. In the first, Sheridan and Hood stood upon the Government interest against Paull. Sheridan, at first relying upon his popularity, refused ministerial assistance, asserting that he should walk over the course. He soon, however, found how uncertain the *popularis aura* is. Paull, being the greatest blackguard of the two, quite supplanted him in the affections of the Covent Garden electors; and if Sheridan had not received timely assistance from Hood, he would have

* Lord Palmerston's observation seems to imply that the spending public money for party elections would not have been deemed, on the part of any Government, a very extraordinary occurrence.

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been shamefully distanced. Even as it was, his majority above Paull was very trifling; and the general opinion is that it will not stand the test of an examination by a committee, before whom Paull has pledged himself to bring it.* Paull's failure was, in a great degree, owing to his uncalled-for adoption of Sir F. Burdett's principles, which rendered it quite impossible for any well-disposed person to give him their support. Sheridan's unpopularity was said to have arisen chiefly from his never having paid his debts. Numbers of poor people crowded round the hustings, demanding payment for bills which he owed them. Mr. Sloane mentioned a curious fact relative to the election. Having gone one day to Covent Garden to see what was going forward, among the cries of Sheridan, Hood, and Paull for ever! he heard several voices in the mob exclaiming, Pitt for ever!

Southwark
election.

At Southwark, Sir Thomas Turton, the old antagonist of Tierney, drove him out of the field. The latter had to contend with all that violence of popular clamour which had so often on former occasions been exerted in his favour; and he was scarcely allowed to speak during the whole election. Few people would have believed, ten or twelve years ago, that the time would ever have arrived when Sheridan and Tierney would be objected to by their electors as candidates, and would complain of the clamour and violence of the mob!

* Sheridan was not, however, unseated, but in the following year Burdett and Cochrane were returned over him and Elliott.

The Middlesex election was conducted with the Journal.
 greatest quiet. The candidates were Byng,* Mellish, Middlesex election.
 and Burdett; and the latter having previously de-
 clared that he would give neither cockades nor post-
 chaises, his former voters, who were not of a descrip-
 tion to sacrifice much to disinterested affection,
 deserted his cause, and the two first candidates were
 returned by very large majorities. The mob also,
 who were so outrageous in their demonstrations of
 regard for Sir Francis at the two former elections,
 not being paid at this one for making a riot, were
 peaceably disposed; and it was no longer dangerous
 to appear at Brentford in any colours but purple.

The Norfolk election did not afford a very striking Norfolk election.
 proof of the popularity of ministers. Windham was
 brought in solely by the great influence of Mr. Coke,†
 assisted by all the exertions of Government. Wind-
 ham‡ had, indeed, rendered himself so generally odious
 in the country, by his ungrateful conduct towards

* Mr. George Byng, a type of the country gentleman in the time of
 Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, and the last M.P. who was seen in the House of
 Commons with the top-boots that formed part of the costume of that
 epoch. He represented Middlesex in Parliament for fifty-six years—
 from 1790 till his death in 1846.

† Afterwards created Earl of Leicester.

‡ It would be absurd in any one not a young politician enthusiastically
 attached to Fox's rival, to talk of such a man as Mr. Windham as un-
 grateful to Mr. Pitt; but this statesman, though so celebrated for his
 attainments as a scholar, and his wit and delivery as a speaker (the
 grandfather of the present Lord Lansdowne told me he was the most
 agreeable speaker he ever listened to), was so uncertain as a politician
 that each party alternately abused him, and in his own county he was
 never spoken of by the farmers without the nickname of "weather-
 cock" being applied to him. He died June 3, 1810, in his sixtieth year.

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Pitt, and the incessant abuse and ridicule which he had lavished upon the volunteers, that it was with the utmost difficulty that even Mr. Coke's friends could be induced to vote for him.

His triumph, however, will be but short, as both Coke and himself will be turned out upon the Treating Act. All the candidates had agreed not to take advantage of that Act, and accordingly opened houses for their electors. But two ladies, friends of Wodehouse (Coke's and Windham's opponent), having appeared every day in a barouche and four at the hustings with his colours, the friends of Windham determined to drive them away, and accordingly put two women of the town in another barouche, decorated with the same ribands, and drew them alongside the carriage of the ladies.

This unmanly insult so incensed those who were the objects of it, that they determined to be revenged. They consequently prevailed upon some of the electors to petition against the sitting members; and as the fact of their having treated is notorious, there is no doubt of their being turned out.

Hampshire
election.

With regard to the county of Hants, the old members were Sir William Heathcote and Mr. Chute, both for many years attached to the politics of Pitt. Neither, however, had at any time taken a violent part in public affairs. Sir William Heathcote, a quiet country gentleman naturally of a retired disposition, lived like a recluse at Hursley; and Chute, a hospitable squire, preferred entertain-

ing his neighbours at "The Vine" to mixing with Journal. much zeal in parliamentary disputes. The latter, however, had in the course of the last session voted three times in opposition to ministers: on the American Intercourse Bill, on the repeal of the Defence Bill, and on Windham's plans. This was an offence not easily to be forgiven; and it was determined to turn him out. Accordingly, in the month of September Lord Temple rode to Hursley, and said to Sir William Heathcote, that Mr. Chute having gone into a systematic opposition to ministers, it could not be expected that they should give him their assistance, but that as Sir William had not attended last session, if he would now declare himself favourably disposed towards Government they would vote for him; but that if he and his friends intended to make a common cause with Chute, Government must set up two candidates instead of one. This communication Lord Temple gave to understand came from Lord Grenville. Had Sir William acted with becoming spirit, he would immediately have taken down what Lord Temple had said, desired him to read it, and then ordered the servant to show him the door. However, he answered, that with regard to himself, he never would pledge himself to support any administration, not even that of Pitt, were he alive; and that as to his friends, he must consult them before he could give any answer with regard to them. He then, when Lord Temple was gone, wrote down the substance of what had passed, and laid it

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before the County Club. The indignation excited by this attempt to dictate to the county members was universal; and it was immediately determined to support the two sitting members, and in them the freedom and independence of the county. Two candidates, however, were now set up by ministers, Mr. Herbert and Thistlewaite; the former, a clever young man, but third son of Lord Carnarvon, and in no way connected with the county; the latter, a very stupid but respectable young man, possessing considerable property near Portsmouth. Hereupon Sir William Heathcote, alarmed at the trouble and expense of a contest, declined standing, upon pretence that his age and infirmities would not allow him to attend Parliament any longer; and though Sir H. St. John Mildmay, after hesitating ten days, was prevailed on to stand in conjunction with Chute, the delay produced by these arrangements gave the ministerial candidates a fortnight's start in their canvass, and this, and the great mass of voters in Portsmouth at the command of Government, decided the fate of the contest.*

1807

Jan. 20.

The new Parliament met a little before Christmas, but no business of any importance was transacted till the 2nd of January, when the papers relative to the late negotiation with France, which had been laid before Parliament, were discussed in the House of Lords. Lord Grenville opened

* This story is curiously illustrative of the manners of the times.

the debate by an excellent speech, in which he Journal. detailed the progress of the negotiation and the causes which led to its rupture. The speech appeared, however, more intended for Europe than the audience to which it was addressed, as it consisted chiefly in a laboured defence of the rupture of the negotiation and a proof of the insincerity of the French Government. Two subjects upon which, probably, not one of his auditors was likely to disagree with him. Lords Sidmouth and Lauderdale spoke on the same side with Lord Grenville. Lords Hawkesbury* and Eldon concurred in the address moved by Lord Grenville, but contended that the assertion made in the first paragraph of the declaration, that France had proposed to treat on the basis of the "*uti possidetis*," was not proved by the papers before the House, inasmuch as Talleyrand not only never admitted that basis during the whole negotiation, but in the first communication from him that can be considered as an overture, he distinctly made an offer to treat upon the basis of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, which certainly is not the "*uti possidetis*" of the present day. Lord Grenville, in reply, contended that ministers were not called upon to prove that assertion by the papers in question; that they had proved by Lord Yarmouth's declaration in the House of Commons that Talleyrand had admitted verbally the basis of the "*uti possidetis*;" that after Lord Yarmouth's return he was particularly instructed to

* Succeeded as Earl of Liverpool Dec. 17, 1808. Prime Minister June, 1812.

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insist upon a written admission to the same effect, and ordered not to produce his full powers till that writing was obtained. That, however, Lord Yarmouth thought proper, contrary to his instructions, to produce his powers before he had obtained this document, and that this was the reason it did not appear among the papers on the table. This statement Lord Yarmouth afterwards denied in the House of Commons; and it does not appear that he was ever ordered to keep back his full powers till a written admission of the "*uti possidetis*" was given him; but the condition on which that production was to depend was the abandonment of a demand of Sicily, set up by the French Government subsequent to the commencement of the negotiations.

Death of the
Duke of
Richmond.

About the end of last December died the Duke of Richmond. His death put four good appointments into the disposal of ministers. The command of the Blues, which was given to the Duke of Northumberland; that of the Sussex Militia, given to Lord Chichester; and a Blue Riband and the Lord Lieutenancy of Sussex, which were given to the Duke of Norfolk. To the last appointment great objections were made, on the ground that the man who was struck out of the Privy Council for disloyalty to his Sovereign should not be made Lord Lieutenant of the county the most likely to be invaded. Nor did the Duke get the Blue Riband, it being necessary in point of form that he should ask it of the King, a degradation in his opinion to which he would not submit.

Feb. 5. Journal.

This day Lord Grenville moved the second reading of the Slave Trade Abolition Bill, which was carried after a long debat   by a large majority. The numbers were 100 contents, 36 non-contents ; majority 64. The time fixed for the importation to cease was the 1st of January, 1808.

Feb. 8.

Yesterday arrived the Russian official account of the battle of the 26th of December. The Russians had continued retreating till they arrived in the neighbourhood of Pultusk, beyond the Vistula. ^{Russian victory.}

Here, on the 26th, an action took place, in which the French under Buonaparte, having attacked the Russians under Benningsen, with a view to cut them off from their magazines, were completely defeated and repulsed with the loss of 4,000 killed and 6,000 prisoners. The two armies amounted each to about 50,000. The Russians were, however, unable from want of provisions to pursue their advantage, and both armies fell back, the French to Warsaw and the Russians to Ostrolenka and Rozau. The French army has suffered dreadfully from the dysentery occasioned by damp and fatigue ; it is also believed that they have got the plica polonica among them. Buonaparte is gone into winter quarters at Warsaw, and Benningsen will probably attack him if he can advance through the country lying between them, which has been rendered a perfect desert by the retreating Russians.

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The uncommon mildness of the winter renders operations less difficult.

Oct. 1.

Home Politics.
Change of
Ministry.

There has seldom happened in this country so sudden and unexpected a change of ministers as that which took place last March. The broad-bottomed administration (or, as they were called, from a foolish boast they made when first they came into power, "All the Talents") appeared in the beginning of the month so strong that it seemed beyond the power of events to shake them.

They had called a new Parliament, in the elections for which the influence direct and indirect of Government had been exerted to an extent and with a success beyond example. They and their adherents had so long and assiduously made the country re-echo with the boast that they alone were fit to conduct the affairs of the nation, that the multitude—who seldom take the trouble of judging for themselves, and are apt to believe what they perpetually hear—began at length to give them credit for the abilities of which they claimed such exclusive possession; and keeping the King as a sort of state prisoner, by allowing none but themselves to approach him, they began almost to consider themselves a fourth branch of the Government of the country. From this height of power nothing but their own conduct could have brought them down.

Catholic
Relief.

The question as to the propriety of taking off from the Catholics in these kingdoms those restrictions

which prevent them from holding various offices of *Journal*. trust and power is one of a very important, extensive, and difficult nature. But it must divide itself into two parts; the one relating to the general and abstract expediency of doing this at some time or other; the second confining itself to the policy of an immediate relaxation of the existing laws, taking into consideration the present state of our affairs and the actual bias of the public mind. These are two questions so different and distinct that it is quite possible that any one may think with the Catholics upon the first, and be adverse to them upon the second. But it is obvious that whenever any proposition tending to what is called (but very improperly) Catholic Emancipation is submitted to Parliament, it is the latter of the above-stated questions upon which we are called to decide. That a set of men in opposition to Ministers, and convinced of the justice of the claims of the Catholics, should, even at the risk of exciting and reviving the animosities of opposing sects, endeavour to obtain the opinion of Parliament and of the country upon the pretensions which they favoured is natural, and perhaps not much to be blamed; and upon those grounds one cannot certainly be surprised at the agitation of the question by Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox in 1805. But after the very decided rejection of their proposition by both Houses of Parliament, after the general disapprobation expressed at this proposition throughout the country, and more especially after it

Journal.

was universally known that the King had invincible conscientious objections to it—people did not expect that the Opposition leaders, having become ministers, would re-enter upon a course in which they were certain to be confronted by insurmountable obstacles. Yet so confident was the late administration of its firmness and omnipotence, that they flattered themselves they should be able to overcome all the difficulties that hindered the accomplishment of their wishes. Aware, however, of the impossibility of forcing the whole extent of the measure which they had in 1805 submitted to Parliament, they resolved to carry it by subdivisions; and the first proposition with which they began related to the admission of Catholics to the higher situations in the army. By the existing laws Catholics may, in Ireland, hold any commission below that of major-general on the staff; but this privilege, which was conceded to them by the Irish Parliament in 1793, never was granted to the Catholics of England; so that a man entering the army legally in Ireland might, upon the removal of his corps to England, become subject to severe penalties. This is certainly an absurdity in theory, although the inconsistency has been remedied in practice, the penal laws having been suffered to sleep in England as far as they have been abrogated in Ireland. This inconsistency, however, was what ministers resolved first to correct; and some insignificant disturbances that took place about this time in some counties of Ireland, occasioned by disputes about tithes, and carried on by

a set of people calling themselves "Threshers," *Journal*. afforded a pretext for what was to be called a measure of conciliation. In point of fact, these disturbances were totally unconnected with religious differences, since the "Threshers" were many of them Protestants; and at any rate no legislative concession could be required to quiet them, since it was a boast of the Duke of Bedford's friends that he had suppressed these commotions by the ordinary course of law. The truth, however, probably was (as indeed is almost acknowledged) that the coalition had so deeply pledged themselves to the Catholics when out of power, that now they were in office they found it impossible wholly to withstand the solicitations they received in consequence of their former professions. In fact, the language held by Lord Grenville when he brought forward the question in 1805 rendered it impossible for him ever to put it off upon the ground of circumstances. "It is urged," he said, "that this is not a proper time to bring this question before Parliament. I answer, this year is the proper time—next year is the proper time—the year after, and every year, is the proper time. It is a question that cannot be too often discussed and brought under the consideration of Parliament and the country."

Finding it, therefore, difficult altogether to refuse the Catholics their support, and at the same time feeling that a full concession of their demands would be impracticable, the Ministers thought that by

Journal.

granting some smaller boon they should, for the present, satisfy one set of people without going so far as to alarm another. It was thus that they determined to extend to both countries the provisions of the Irish Act of 1793. When the proposal was made to the King* he expressed a considerable repugnance to accede to it. But after a correspondence with the Cabinet,† at length he was finally induced to consent to it. He accompanied this consent, however, with the following written declaration: "That while his Majesty agreed to the measure proposed, particularly adverting to the provisions of the Act of 1793, he felt it necessary to declare that *he would not go one step further.*" Lord Howick then gave notice that he should propose certain clauses in the *Mutiny Bill* to enable the Catholics to hold *certain* commissions in the army; and a despatch‡ was sent to Ireland, containing those clauses, which Mr. Elliot, the Secretary, was to communicate to the Catholics. In the conference which took place upon this subject the Catholic deputies asked Mr. Elliot whether it was meant merely to extend to England the Irish Act of 1793, or whether *all commissions* in the army and navy were to be opened to them. To this question it appears Mr. Elliot was unable, from the want of precision in the despatch in which the views of the Government had been explained, to give a decisive

* The draft of a despatch, accompanied by a cabinet minute, was dated Feb. 9.

† The second cabinet representation was dated Feb. 10.

‡ Dated Feb. 12.

answer, and consequently he wrote back to ascertain Journal. clearly the intentions of the Cabinet. Another despatch was then sent to him, and this despatch clearly expressed that his Majesty was to be empowered to confer *any commission* or appointment in the army or navy upon *all descriptions* of his subjects *without any exception whatever*; it added that this concession was no longer to be made by a clause in the Mutiny Act,* but by a separate enactment. This second despatch was sent to Windsor to the King, and being returned without comment, was transmitted to Ireland.† On the following Wednesday,‡ the day on which the Mutiny Bill was to be committed and the separate Bill brought in, Lord Howick had an audience with the King upon the business of his office, and after it was over the King asked him what was coming on that day in the House of Commons. Lord Howick said that the committee on the Mutiny Bill stood as the order for the day, and explained to the King the nature of the change that had taken place, and the reasons which had induced it. The King then asked whether the separate Bill intended to be brought forward was not the same as the Irish Act. Lord Howick, in reply, stated the degree in which they differed, observing that this difference

* The measure extending now to the *navy*, to which the Mutiny Act does not apply, it became obviously necessary to make it the subject of a separate bill.

† Lord Howick sent it to the King on the night of Monday, March 2, and it was returned the next morning.

‡ March 4.

Journal.

Lord Howick's
explanation.

had been explained to his Majesty in the last despatch which had been submitted to him. Lord Howick also stated the reasons why he conceived the measure, in the extent to which it was intended to be carried, to be of the utmost importance to the welfare and security of the government of the country. "And here, Sir," said Lord Howick, in his explanatory speech on the 26th March,* "I must acknowledge that his Majesty, upon that occasion, did express a general dislike and disapprobation of this measure—I mean to state everything frankly—but I did understand our conversation to conclude by the King giving his consent—a reluctant consent, I admit—or perhaps it would be more correctly stated by *not withdrawing the consent which he had originally given*—to carrying out the views of his Government. I conceived, therefore, that I had still sufficient authority, as a member of that Government, for the introduction of the Bill that had been prepared."

In consequence of this conception, Lord Howick, the next day or the day after, introduced the said Bill, and some discussion took place between him and Perceval, who opposed it. About the same time Lord Sidmouth sent in his resignation. On the following Wednesday,† Lord Howick did not attend the levée, on account of the death of a near relation ; but the King signified to Lord Grenville his decided

* From which the account of this audience is taken almost verbatim.

† March 11.

disapprobation of the measure that had been brought forward, and the misconception of its extent, under which his consent to it had been originally given, having before expressed his objections to it; and in consequence of this explanation Lord Howick on the next day postponed the further reading of the Bill, which ministers finally resolved to drop altogether. A minute was accordingly transmitted to the King, stating this determination, but making three demands—1st, that they should be allowed when they dropped the Bill to state the strong persuasion they entertained individually of the advantage which would result to the Empire from a different system of policy towards the Catholics of Ireland; 2nd, that they should be allowed openly to avow these sentiments, not only on withdrawing the Bill, but in the possible event of the discussion of the Catholic petition in Parliament; and, 3rd, that notwithstanding the deference which they had thought it their duty to show on the present occasion to the opinions and feelings expressed by his Majesty, they should be free to submit from time to time, as their duty was, for his Majesty's decision, such measures respecting Ireland as the course of circumstances should appear to require. In answer to this minute, the King expressed some dissatisfaction that the ministers should feel it necessary as individuals to express their opinions on withdrawing the Bill, but required them absolutely to withdraw the latter part of their declaration, stating that he never would consent

Journal.
 sometimes
 when I was
 of your grace
 & Howick
 It is curious
 that I & Howick
 (Howick) gave
 resigned to
 a case given
 of a mission
 kept the
 would be an
 child built

Journal.

to any concessions to the Catholics which they might in future propose to him, and requiring a positive assurance in writing, which, as they conceived, would not only preclude them from proposing concessions to the Catholics, but from all measures connected with such concessions. The ministers refused to withdraw their statement, or to give the written assurance demanded; and the King communicated to them his intention of intrusting the management of his affairs to other ministers. Lord Grenville and Lord Howick then asked and obtained from the King permission to state to Parliament the circumstances which led to the change of ministry; and their statements, made in the Lords on the 26th March, and in the Commons on the same day, were subsequently published.

In reviewing this transaction, it must immediately strike one as a singular circumstance that there should so long have existed upon so important a subject such a wide misunderstanding, not only between the King and his ministers, but even among the very members of the Cabinet in which the measure originated; that in submitting to the King a proposition connected with a subject upon which he was known to entertain such a decided opinion, sufficient care should not have been taken by Lord Howick to avoid the possibility of a misconception on either side is certainly extraordinary; but that some of those colleagues in office, with whom he and Lord Grenville must have discussed, digested, and

arranged the measure, previous to its being com- Journal.
municated to the King, should almost to the last
have mistaken its nature and extent, is wholly inexpli-
cable. Such, however, was the fact. Lord Sid-
mouth declared in the House of Lords that he
understood the first despatch precisely as the King
did, and never conceived till the second was drawn
up that anything more was in contemplation than to
extend to England the Irish Act of 1793 ; on the
other hand, Lords Grenville and Howick not only
assert that from the beginning their intentions were
to open to the Catholics and all descriptions of
persons all ranks and appointments in the army and
navy, but seemed to wonder that any person could
have mistaken their meaning ; their partizans of
course go further, and scruple not to affirm that the
King fully understood the extent of the measure to
which he assented, that he retracted his word in
consequence of private representations made to him
by interested persons, and that the ministers were
the victims of secret intrigue and cabal. In matters
of this nature facts are more to be depended upon
than the most confident assertions of the parties con-
cerned ; and however high the characters of Lord
Grenville or Lord Howick may stand, we are
perhaps more likely to arrive at the truth by a
deduction from admitted facts, than by trusting
implicitly to their explanations of their own views
and intentions. Now certainly from such a review
there are very strong grounds for believing that

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when they first laid their proposition before the King they themselves only meant to extend the Act of 1793; that the King, Lord Sidmouth, and the other two Cabinet ministers rightly understood its nature; and that the subsequent misunderstanding arose from a change of plan on the part of the two lords, rather than any original mistake of the King. If it were not so, how happened it that the despatch was so ambiguously worded that neither the King, nor many of the Cabinet, nor the Irish deputies, nor Mr. Elliot should hit upon its real meaning? * Is it possible that Lord Grenville or Lord Howick are so unused to composition, or so ignorant of the force of words, as not to be able to draw up a despatch without leaving doubtful and ill explained so very material a point as that upon which the essence of the measure they were about to adopt depended? It is but a poor excuse for them to say that the King misunderstood them. It was their bounden duty to take care that he should not misunderstand them; and suffering him to misconceive their proposal was nearly as culpable as an attempt to deceive him with regard to it would have been. Moreover, if the Government from the first intended to admit all persons into the army and navy, is it not singular that Lord Howick should propose to do so by a

* The change in the extent of the bill was probably owing to the conversation between Mr. Elliot and the Irish deputies; when Lord Grenville found, from what passed in that interview, how far the wishes of the Catholics extended, he did not choose that his bill should fall short of their expectations.

clause in the Mutiny Bill? A measure so new and Journal. important is not usually introduced as a clause to any Bill, because some stages of discussion are by that means cut off. If, however, on the other hand, the extension of the Act of 1793 had been all that was meant, to introduce such a proposition into the Mutiny Bill was natural and proper.

A circumstance upon which the partizans of the ministry lay great stress, as proving them to have been warranted in their supposition that they were acting with the King's consent, is that the second despatch to the Lord Lieutenant was sent to the King with the amended clauses, and returned by him the next day without comment. The explanation of this circumstance is, that whenever any business is in progress, the despatches relative to it which are sent to the King are considered as sent merely *pro formâ*, and are not read by him, unless there is a note in the box, specifying that the despatch contains new matter, and requesting his attention to it. What then was more natural than that, seeing this despatch and the clauses to be merely explanatory of those which he had already seen, and that there was no note enclosed, he should either run them carelessly over, or not look at them at all? The omission of an accompanying note proves more against the ministers than the want of any comment does against the King. Lord Grenville in his speech dwells much upon the length of time which elapsed between the notice of the

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separate Bill, which was given in the House by Lord Howick the day of his first conversation with the King (the 4th), and the notification of the King's decided objection to it, which was not made till the following Wednesday (the 11th). The King, argues Lord Grenville, must have heard by the newspapers that the Bill had been introduced ; and is it not singular that a week should be suffered to elapse before he informs his ministers that they had mistaken his sentiments, and acted in opposition to his wishes ? but, on the other hand, the King being at Windsor, might not for some days hear of the debate in question ; and as he only came to town on Wednesdays, and the second reading was not to come on till the next Thursday, he might naturally think that it would be time enough for him to put a stop to further proceedings when he next went to town, and that there was no necessity for inconvenient hurry.

But if ministers cannot be acquitted of some degree of insincerity in their transactions with the King previous to the explanation, neither can their subsequent conduct be in any way reconciled with the respect which they owed to their Sovereign, or the constitutional principles by which it was their duty to have been guided. When, from deference to the King's opinions, they dropped the obnoxious bill, there were but two lines of conduct which they could with propriety pursue. If they thought that the safety of Ireland was consistent with the King's ideas

respecting the Catholics, they should have adopted Journal.
those ideas without reserve; but if it appeared to them that nothing could permanently secure the tranquillity of the country but such an enlargement of the political privileges of that description of its inhabitants as it was contrary to the King's determination to grant, it was incumbent upon them to resign situations which they could no longer hold without compromising their own honour, or sacrificing the public advantage. *But they viewed the matter in another light, and insisted upon retaining both their places and their opinions.* They asserted that nothing but their strong conviction of the imperious necessity of adopting some measure to relieve the Catholics from the restrictions under which they laboured would have induced them to propose the measure which they had framed for that purpose; and yet, though nothing had occurred to diminish that imperious necessity, they consented to withdraw their proposals and retain their places, thereby taking upon themselves all the responsibility of any of those fatal effects to the country which they prophesied would be the inevitable consequences of rejecting their advice. It is idle to contend that, by stating in Parliament the opinions on which they did not act, they exempted themselves from the responsibility which might result from the Sovereign's disregard of those opinions, since ministers are and must be responsible for any policy, whether active or passive, that is adopted while they remain in power. If this

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were not so, an unprincipled minister might sanction and give effect to the most profligate policy by his acquiescence in it, and yet secure himself from punishment by saying that he had disapproved of it. The course, therefore, which till this instance has invariably been pursued is, that so long as the King and his ministers think together, or the former is willing to give way to the latter, the administration goes on; that upon points not concerning the great interests of the country, the latter may even concede to the opinion of the former; but that whenever discussions arise between the Sovereign and his Cabinet upon great and important questions, if a difference of opinion should unfortunately take place, and neither party succeed in convincing the other, the ministers are bound in honour to retire from their situations and give the King an opportunity of ascertaining whether he can find other servants who will enter more readily into his views. Should he succeed, and the new ministers begin to execute his ideas either by proposing or omitting to propose any particular measure, then those who went out may properly as individual members of Parliament oppose to their utmost what they resisted when in office. Should he fail in his search, then comes into operation one of those salutary checks which the practice of the Constitution has imposed on the royal prerogative, and the Sovereign must necessarily abandon a line of conduct which he cannot find men of character and ability willing to pursue.

The new ministerial arrangements were completed by the end of March, and were as follows :—

<i>First Lord of the Treasury</i>	Duke of Portland	<i>vice</i>	Lord Grenville.
<i>Lord of the Admiralty</i> . . .	Lord Mulgrave	„	Mr. Grenville.
<i>Chanc. of the Exchequer</i> . .	Hon. Spencer Perceval	„	{ Lord Henry Petty.
<i>Sec. of Foreign Affairs</i> . . .	G. Canning	„	Lord Howick.
<i>War and Colonies</i>	Lord Castlereagh	„	Mr. Windham.
<i>Home Department</i>	Lord Hawkesbury	„	Lord Spencer.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Lord Eldon	„	Lord Erskine.
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	Lord Westmoreland . .	„	Lord Holland.
<i>President of the Council</i> . .	Lord Camden	„	Lord Sidmouth.
<i>President of the Board of Trade</i>	{ Lord Bathurst	„	Lord Auckland.
<i>Master General of the Ordnance</i>	{ Lord Chatham	„	Lord Moira.

The above formed the Cabinet.

<i>Attorney-General</i>	Sir V. Gibbs	<i>vice</i>	Sir A. Pigott.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir Thomas Plomer . . .	„	{ Sir Samuel Romilly.
<i>Board of Control</i>	Hon. S. Dundas	„	Mr. Tierney.
<i>Treasurer of the Navy</i> . . .	G. Rose	„	Mr. Sheridan.
<i>Secretary at War</i>	{ Lt.-General Sir James Pulteney	„	Gen. FitzPatrick.
<i>Master of the Horse</i>	Duke of Montrose	„	Lord Hertford.
<i>Lord Lieut. of Ireland</i> . . .	Duke of Richmond . . .	„	Duke of Bedford.
<i>Secretary for Ireland</i> . . .	Sir A. Wellesley	„	{ Right Hon. W. Elliot.
<i>Chanc. of the Exchequer for Ireland</i>	{ Mr. Forster	„	Sir J. Newport.
<i>Postmasters-General</i>	Lord Sandwich.		
	Lord Chichester.		
<i>Paymasters of Forces</i> . . .	Rt. Hon. C. Long	„	Lord Temple.
	Lord C. H. Somerset.		
<i>Lords of the Treasury</i> . . .	Lord Titchfield.		
	Mr. Sturges Bourne.		
	Hon. R. Ryder.		
<i>Lords of the Admiralty</i> . .	Lord Gambier.		
	Sir R. Bickerton.		
	Capt. W. J. Hope.		
	Mr. R. Ward.		
	Lord Palmerston.		
	Mr. James Buller.		

BOOK II.

Now in Parliament; and speaks with credit in defence of the Government in regard to the Copenhagen Expedition—Visits his Irish estates—Is offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, after the Canning and Castlereagh quarrel; refuses, and becomes Secretary at War—Becomes, on the dissolution, Member for Cambridge University—Makes a successful speech on bringing forward the estimates—Cites passages from the despatches of Lord Wellington, then driving Massena out of Portugal—Describes a shooting party in Essex—Correspondence with the Commander-in-Chief as to the position of Secretary at War.

Remarks.
1807.

I HAVE stated that Lord Palmerston, after once more failing at Cambridge, had been returned for Newport. There was not so much and such constant talking in the House of Commons then as there is now. People did not take up the morning's reports of the debates and again put them down, lost amidst the wilderness of commonplace remarks of commonplace men on commonplace subjects, which, in the flattering way it has become the fashion to adopt in speaking of ourselves, we call business-like speaking, but which in reality is for the most part twaddle, and prevents or impedes the transaction of business.

The ordinary affairs of Government, which after

all have to be gone through as a matter of course, Remarks. with little or much speech about them, were permitted to pass off quietly, without every member making a speech which no other member wanted to hear. Any great affair was debated in a great manner by the leading men. When a new member was animated by ambition, he made a trial of his strength, and was judged by the assembly he addressed as fit or unfit to be one of the select to be listened to. The ordeal was a severe one. But the novice who passed it with tolerable credit in the judgment of those men whose opinion was the test of success and failure, and who knew at once how to detect mind—which, if accompanied by energy, ends in giving ascendancy in any body of men who live much together—was henceforth classed, and almost certain, if he persevered in a Parliamentary career, to obtain place and distinction.

A first speech under such circumstances was an Maiden important affair. Lord Palmerston thus speaks of speech. his own :—

“ In September of this year (1807), Copenhagen Auto- was taken, and the Danish fleet carried off. biography.

“ The Danish expedition was the great subject of debate at the beginning of the Session in 1808. Papers relating to it were laid before Parliament. At that time lay Lords of the Admiralty had nothing to do but to sign their name. I had leisure, therefore, to study the Copenhagen papers, and put together a speech, on which I received many compliments. Robert

Auto-
biography.

Milnes,* better known as Orator Milnes, had made a splendid speech on the first night of the discussion.

"He chose to make a second speech on a following night, to show that he was as good in reply as on preparation. His speech was a bad one, and my first speech was thought better than his second."

He thus writes modestly to his sister :—

To the Hon. Miss E. Temple.

"Admiralty, Feb. 4, 1808.

Letters
relative to
Speech.

"MY DEAR ELIZABETH,

"You will see by this day's paper that I was tempted by some evil spirit to make a fool of myself for the entertainment of the House last night; however, I thought it was a good opportunity of breaking the ice, although one should flounder a little in doing so, as it was impossible to talk any very egregious nonsense upon so good a cause. Canning's speech was one of the most brilliant and convincing I ever heard; it lasted near three hours. He carried the House with him throughout, and I have scarcely ever heard such loud and frequent cheers. Ponsonby† was dull and heavy, and neither Windham nor Whitbread were as good as usual; in fact, Canning's speech was so powerful that it gave a decisive turn to the debate. Lord Granville Leveson‡ made a very

* Father of the present Lord Houghton.

† Described in the 'Whig Guide,' it is said by Palmerston, as a "squat gentleman, prolific in commonplaces."

‡ Then Secretary at War. He became Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and afterwards at Paris, and was created Earl Granville. He married a daughter of the fifth Duke of Devonshire, and was the father of the present Earl.

good speech, and stated an important fact—that all Letters. the impartial people in Russia, and other parts of the Continent, as far as he had any opportunity of collecting their sentiments, highly applauded, instead of condemning, our Danish expedition. Our division was not so large as I expected.* The Opposition were not more numerous, but we were less so than I expected. I thought we should have had three to one, but during this weather it is difficult to get people to come up to town.

“Adieu! my best love to all.

“Ever your affectionate brother,

“PALMERSTON.”

To the Hon. Miss E. Temple.

“Admiralty, Feb. 6, 1808.

“MY DEAR ELIZABETH,

“Many thanks for your congratulations. I certainly felt glad when the thing was over, though I began to fear I had exposed myself; but my friends were so obliging as to say I had not talked much nonsense, and I began in a few hours afterwards to be reconciled to my fate. The papers have not been very liberal in their allowance of report to me; but the outline of what I said was as follows. In the Maiden speech. first place, that the House was, to a certain degree, pledged by the address, in which they expressed their approbation of the expedition; but that the papers were in themselves improper to be produced, as they

* For the motion	.	.	.	108
Against it	.	.	.	253
Majority for Government	.	.	.	145

Letters.

would betray the sources from whence we obtained intelligence, and expose the authors to Buonaparte's vengeance. That they were unnecessary, because the expedition could be justified without them. That Zealand and the Danish fleet was an object to France; that the neutrality of Denmark would have been no protection, as Buonaparte never did respect neutrality, and was not likely to do so now, when the temptation was the strongest, and his facility the greatest; and that in fact it was evident he did intend to seize the fleet. That Denmark was unable to resist; but, if she had possessed the means, was unwilling to have exerted them, since it was evident from various circumstances that she had determined to join France. Her refusal to accept our offers of alliance proved this. If we could have defended Denmark, the Crown Prince proved his hostility by refusing our guarantee; if we could not, how could the Danes have defended themselves without our assistance? on either supposition ministers were equally justified. In conclusion I adverted to the slight inconsistency in those who, having sent out orders to Lord St. Vincent to do the same thing at Lisbon which we did at Copenhagen, although subsequent events prevented these orders from being executed, now blame ministers for having acted at Copenhagen on their own principles. I was about half an hour on my legs; I did not feel so much alarmed as I expected to be. I saw Emma to-day, and mean to dine with her to-morrow at Peggy's.

William, as you will see by a letter from him, is Letters. returned to Cambridge. I do not know what we shall do for a house ; how far upwards should you mind going ? There is a nice house in Manchester Square, but it is, to be sure, sadly out of the way.

“ Adieu ! my dear Tilly.

“ Ever your affectionate brother,

“ PALMERSTON.”

The speech to which this correspondence alludes Remarks. was evidently composed with much care, and in those parts which had been carefully consigned to memory was spoken with great ease and facility ; but in others there was that hesitation and superabundance of gesture with the hands, which were perceptible to General style of speaking. the last when Lord Palmerston spoke unprepared, and was seeking for words ; for though he always used the right word, it often cost him pains to find it. This marred, no doubt, the continued effect of his delivery, and made him doubtful, as we have seen, at first as to the impression he had produced ; but every one recognized that a clever, well-instructed young man had been speaking, and made ready allowance for defects which might not remain, and to which if they did the House would become accustomed.

If there are any still entertaining doubts as to the necessity of the action which the orator defended, it may be as well to direct their attention to two letters to be found in the recently-published correspondence of Napoleon :—

Letters.

“A M. DE TALLEYRAND.

“Saint-Cloud, 31 Juillet, 1807.

“Le même courrier continuera sa route sur Copenhague, et sera porteur d’une lettre à mon ministre, par laquelle vous lui ferez connaître mon mécontentement de ce que les promesses qu’a faites le Danemark n’ont point d’effet, et que la correspondance continue avec l’Angleterre.

“Dimanche, au plus tard, vous aurez une conférence sur ce sujet avec M. de Droher. Vous lui direz que, quelque soit mon désir de ménager Danemark, je ne puis empêcher qu’il ne se ressente de la violation qu’il a laissé faire de la Baltique; et que si l’Angleterre refuse la médiation de la Russie, il faut nécessairement qu’il choisisse, ou de faire la guerre à l’Angleterre ou de me la faire.

“NAPOLEON.”

“*Au Maréchal BERNADOTTE, Gouverneur des Villes
Hanséatiques.*

“Saint-Cloud, 2 Août, 1807.

“Je ne veux pas tarder à vous faire connaître mes intentions, qu’il faut tenir secrètes jusqu’au dernier moment.

“Si l’Angleterre n’accepte pas la médiation de la Russie, il faut que le Danemark lui déclare la guerre, ou que je la déclare au Danemark. Vous serez destiné, dans ce dernier cas, à vous emparer de tout le continent danois.

“NAPOLEON.”

I here insert another letter from Lord Palmerston to his younger sister, which, though it relates to matters strictly private, shows in the most agreeable manner his business-like habits and generous and liberal views, and might serve as a lesson to English landlords having Irish estates.

To the Hon. Miss E. Temple.

Letters.

“Cliffoney, September 12, 1808.

“MY DEAR ELIZABETH,

“ . . . The rain, which had commenced the morning we left Dublin, and had continued with little intermission, was more particularly violent this day, and William,* who was not so much interested in seeing the estate as in keeping himself dry, returned home very soon. We, however, persevered, and saw the greatest part of the estate. Thursday, 8th, I employed in walking and riding about the town of Sligo with Chambers, and Friday, 9th, we took another ride over the whole of that part of the estate which lies connected by the sea-coast. I find there is a great deal, I may almost say, everything, to be done, and it will be absolutely necessary for me to repeat my visit next summer, and probably make it annual for some time. I have in this part of the country about ten thousand acres, of which between eight and nine lie together to the north of Sligo. It is a tract of country about two miles broad and six long, bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by bog and high, craggy mountains. It is wholly unimproved; but almost all the waste ground or bog is capable of being brought into cultivation, and all the arable may be rendered worth three times its present value. This, however, must be the work of time, and to accomplish it much must be done. The present objects which I must in the first

Visit to Irish estate.

* Mr. William Temple, his brother.

Letters.

Projected improvements.

instance set about, are to put the parish church in a state of repair, so as to make it fit for service ; to establish schools, to make roads, and to get rid of the middlemen in some cases where it can be accomplished. After that, as opportunities occur, I mean to endeavour to introduce a Scotch farmer, to teach the people how to improve their land ; to establish a little manufacturing village in a central part of the estate, where there are great advantages of water and stone ; and to build a pier and make a little port near a village that stands on a point of land projecting into Donegal Bay, and called Mullaghmore.

“The schools and roads, however, are the most important points at present, and the condition of the people calls loudly for both. The thirst for education is so great that there are now three or four schools upon the estate. The people join in engaging some itinerant master ; they run him up a miserable mud hut on the roadside, and the boys pay him half a crown, or some five shillings, a quarter. They are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and what, from the appearance of the establishment, no one would imagine, Latin, and even Greek.

“I mean to build three good school-houses on the estate, and attach to each three or four acres of land, which will keep a cow and grow potatoes without making the schoolmaster into a farmer. Then, if the salary paid by the boys is not sufficient, the deficiency may be made up in money ; and as the masters will be under my control, to be turned off at pleasure, I shall have security for their good conduct.

I fancy they must be Catholics, for the people will Letters. not send their children to a Protestant.

“Roads are the first necessity for the improvement of the land. The sea-coast abounds with a shelly sand, which is the best possible manure for boggy ground; and roads of communication between the shore and the upper country will enable the inhabitants of the bogs to reclaim their waste ground with this manure, and the people on the seaside to get turf for fuel from the bogs; and both are in need of a ready communication with Sligo market.

“The worst circumstance attending the property Condition of tenantry. is that it is so populous. Every farm swarms with little holders, who have each four or five, or at the utmost ten or twelve acres. They are too poor to improve their land, and yet it is impossible to turn them out, as they have no other means of subsistence. Their condition, however, will be improved as I gradually get rid of the middlemen, or petty landlords.

“These people take a certain quantity of ground, reserve to themselves a small portion, and let out the rest to under-tenants. They make these unfortunate devils pay the rent of the landlord, and an excess, which they keep themselves, and call a profit-rent, while they live upon the part they reserve without paying any rent for it. In my last ride the day was very fine, and the whole tenantry came out to meet me, to the number, in different places, of at least two or three hundred. The universal cry was, ‘Give us roads, and no petty landlords.’ . . .

Letters.

“What admirable news from Portugal! Last night we heard of the surrender of Lisbon and the fleet by an express from Cork to Dublin; but it was a necessary consequence of the battle, and one did not feel anxious about it. What will the croakers say now? They have not a twig left to perch upon. I only hope Saumarez* will fall in with the Russians in the Baltic, and then I think we shall have beat Alexander into the warmest friendship and regard for us. What a triumph to the orders in Council is the opening of the Dutch ports! It is a complete confession of defeat by Buonaparte in the commercial as well as military contest he is waging with us; and I doubt not of equal success in both.

“Adieu! my dear Elizabeth. Our best love to all.

“Ever your affectionate brother,

“PALMERSTON.”

Remarks.

A new era now takes place in Lord Palmerston's life. He had spoken but once since his entry into the House of Commons, and he was but twenty-five years of age when, by a singular combination of circumstances, he had an offer which would have turned most heads, but seems to have steadied his own.

The well-known quarrel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning had led to the necessity of a change of ministry, though not to the downfall of the

* The distinguished admiral, afterwards created, for his brilliant achievements, Lord de Saumarez. He was Nelson's second in command at the battle of the Nile. He died in 1836.

party in the possession of power. Mr. Perceval became Prime Minister, and had to fill up important places without any very ready means of doing so with men of established reputation. He turned, not unnaturally, therefore, to those young men who had given promise of ability; and amongst these was undoubtedly the Junior Lord of the Admiralty, who could hardly, however, have expected the proposal which he now received, and to which he thus alludes:—

“I was at that time (the breaking-up of the Portland Ministry) at Broadlands (October, 1809), and received a letter from Perceval, desiring me to come to town immediately, as he had a proposal to make to me which he thought would be agreeable: I went up to town, and he offered me the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. I was a good deal surprised at so unexpected an offer, and begged a little time to think of it, and to consult my friends.

Remarks.
Auto-
biography.

Offered
Chancellor-
ship of Ex-
chequer.

“Perceval said that if I declined to be Chancellor of the Exchequer he should perhaps be able to offer me the War Office; but he felt bound to offer it first to Milnes.

“I wrote to Lord Malmesbury, then at Park Place, and consulted with Lord Mulgrave,* then First Lord of the Admiralty. The result was that I declined the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, as too hazardous an attempt for so young and inex-

* Afterwards Earl of Mulgrave, G.C.B., a general officer, and Lord-Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire. Grandfather of the present Marquess of Normanby. He died in 1831.

Auto-
biography.

perienced a man, and accepted the offer of Secretary at War.”*

I have obtained, through the kindness of Lord Malmesbury, the interesting correspondence to which Lord Palmerston here alludes.†

“Broadlands, Oct. 15, 1809.

Correspond-
ence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

“MY DEAR LORD MALMESBURY,

“I have just received the enclosed letter‡ from Perceval, and am, in consequence, setting off for London, where I shall be early to-morrow morning.

“We have been spending three days very pleasantly on a sailing party, from which we returned last night ; our weather has been remarkably fine for our purpose, with plenty of wind and sunshine ; and, although the latter was not quite so strong as the former, it made everything look very bright and cheerful, and, by dint of boat-cloaks, one can always keep out the cold.”

“Oct. 16, 1809.

“MY DEAR LORD MALMESBURY,

“I got to town this morning, and went to Perceval’s, and was, as you may imagine, infinitely surprised at the proposal he had to make to me. He stated that, having been deprived of the assistance of

* On the 28th of October, and sworn a member of the Privy Council on the 1st of November.

† These letters—which came into my possession in the way I have stated—were in print when I heard they were about to be published by Lord Malmesbury himself, with other correspondence of his distinguished grandfather. Had I known this before, I might not have given them in extenso. As it is, I cannot avoid doing so ; and at all events they have an appropriate place in Lord Palmerston’s biography.

‡ The letter of Mr. Perceval here alluded to has not been preserved.

Huskisson* and Sturges Bourne, he felt much in need of some one to take off his shoulders part of the labour of his offices in and out of the House; that he meant for that purpose to divide the situations of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury, and proposed to me to take the former. He said he had previously offered it to Vansittart, who declined taking it unless Lord Sidmouth formed part of the administration, and they had decided that it was not expedient to take Lord S. in. Annexed to this office he offered a seat in the Cabinet if I chose it, and he thought it better I should have it. I, of course, expressed to him how much honoured I felt by this very flattering proof of the good opinion he was pleased to entertain of me, but also my great fears that I should find myself wholly incompetent for the situation, both from my inexperience in the details of matters of finance, and my want of practice in public speaking. To this he replied that he should of course take the principal share of the Treasury business, both in and out of the House. That in the office Harrison and his own secretary would be able to afford me great assistance, and that in the House practice would soon enable me to get on well enough for the purposes of business. He said that he felt great difficulty in finding any one to take the situation, and that he did not at the moment know of any one else to whom he could offer it. He named Milnes, Member for

Correspondence with Lord Malmesbury.

Perceval's offer of the Exchequer.

* Huskisson had been Secretary of the Treasury, and Sturges Bourne one of the Lords of the Treasury.

Correspondence with Lord Malmesbury.

Alternative offer of a Lordship of the Treasury, and Secretaryship at War.

Pomfret—the man who made so great a figure as a speaker—as the only other person he had thought of. Upon further conversation, he appeared to think it possible that I might come in at first as a Lord of the Treasury, and afterwards, if upon fagging at the business between this and the meeting of Parliament, I found it likely I could take the Chancellorship, I could be promoted to it. The inconvenience, however, of this arrangement would be, that if I declined it ultimately, he might not be able to find any one else in the short interval which would possibly elapse, and that then I should not be of so much use to him in the House, as not carrying so much weight as if I held the Chancellorship. Thirdly, he suggested that it was possible that if I felt objections to either of these proposals, the office of Secretary at War* might be to be disposed of, if I chose to take that. I own I feel the most extreme embarrassment to know what answer to give. Of course one's vanity and ambition would lead to accept the brilliant offer first proposed; but it is throwing for a *great stake*, and where much is to be gained, *very much* also may be lost. I have always thought it unfortunate for any one, and particularly a young man, to be put above his proper level, as he only rises to fall the lower. Now, I am quite without knowledge of finance, and never but once spoke in the House. The approaching session

* This office, which had to deal with the accounts of the War Department, was distinct from that of the Secretary for War. The Secretary for War was, properly speaking, the war minister, and usually held the Colonial Department.

will be one of infinite difficulty. Perceval says that the state of the finances of this country, as calculated to carry on the war, is very embarrassing; and from what has lately happened in public affairs, from the number of speakers in opposition, and the few debaters on our side of the question, the warfare of the House of Commons will certainly be for us very severe. I don't know upon which of the two points I should feel most alarmed. By fagging and assistance I might get on in the office, but fear that I never should be able to act my part properly in the House. A good deal of debating must of course devolve upon the person holding the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; all persons not born with the talents of Pitt or Fox must make many bad speeches at first if they speak a great deal on many subjects, as they cannot be masters of all, and a bad speech, though tolerated in any person not in a responsible situation, would make a Chancellor of the Exchequer exceedingly ridiculous, particularly if his friends could not set off against his bad oratory a great knowledge and capacity for business; and I should be apprehensive that instead of materially assisting Perceval, I should only bring disgrace and ridicule upon him and myself. The second proposal of coming in first as simply a Lord of the Treasury, at first sight is liable to fewer objections of the above sort. I might, to a certain degree, qualify myself for the other office in the interval between this and the meeting of Parliament; but still the same objections hold good as to the parlia-

Correspondence with Lord Malmesbury.

Correspond-
ence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

mentary part if I ultimately take the other—and it would not be fair to Perceval and the Government to come into the Treasury unless with a pretty determined view of taking the Chancellorship, as it might be difficult, if not impossible, when near the opening of the session, for Perceval to make the division of his offices which he wishes. There are now two seats in the Treasury vacant, and of course one* must be filled by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whoever he may be; it would therefore be impossible, probably, to keep one vacant for any great length of time; so that I think I am in a great degree called upon to make my determination as to the office now. And thus the second proposal, I think, reduces itself to a choice between taking the office now, or being raised to it gradually by a previous seat at the Treasury board. I should myself strongly incline to being Secretary at War. From what one has heard of the office, it seems one better suited to a beginner, and in which I might hope not to fail, or in which one would not be so prominent if one did not at first do as well as one ought to do. Perceval said, however, that he must see me again before he could positively say that this was at his disposal. He has given me till *Wednesday* to consider. He at first proposed to have my answer to-morrow, but I begged to have till the next day, as I thought by that time I could have your sentiments upon the subject. I think the choice lies between being Chancellor of the Exchequer and Secretary at

* The other was filled by Mr. Snowden Barne.

War, since the latter I should certainly prefer to being a Lord of the Treasury simply, another being the Chancellor and Perceval First Lord. Perceval did not mention whether the seat in the Cabinet would go with the War Office; but that, though a great honour, and certainly an assistance in debate, should not, I think, alone determine my choice. One consideration not to be wholly overlooked is, that we may probably not remain in long enough to retrieve any blunders made at the outset; and the ground of the War Office is, I think, *quite* high enough for me to leave off upon. Our party is certainly ill off for second-rates, but if Perceval cannot find another as good as me for the Exchequer, it's clear, I think, that we are too weak to stand. Milnes would probably not take it unless his ambition got the better of his partiality to Canning and his aversion to Perceval; and though a man of very brilliant talents, I should much doubt his steadiness; but there must be many well fitted for the office.

Correspond-
ence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

“I send you a duplicate of this letter by Broadlands in case it should by any accident miscarry, as the time of deliberation is so short that I cannot wait for another post day. Should you be too late for the Christchurch post, my groom can take your answer, as our post does not go till near five, and even then it could be sent to Winchester at a later hour, as the mail does not pass through there till seven or eight o'clock.

“Yours most affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

Correspond-
ence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

"New Hall, Oct. 17, 1809.

"MY DEAR HARRY,

Lord Malmes-
bury's answer.

"I had just answered your letter of the 15th, and put my answer into the post, when your servant, who had sought for me in vain at Heron Court, brought me the one written yesterday explanatory of the reason which induced Perceval to send for you in such haste. As you wish to have my answer by to-morrow morning, I have little time (it is now a quarter-past seven) to bestow on perusing it; but although the subject is a very important and serious one, yet it strikes me so manifestly what is best for you to do, that I think I can venture to give an immediate opinion, without any great apprehension that I should deviate from it on more mature consideration.

"Nothing can be more flattering to you, nor of course more pleasing to me, than Perceval's offer to you. In different times, and under less perplexing circumstances, I should not demur as to the propriety of your accepting the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; for although it is a post which requires great labour and knowledge of finance, yet you would easily get habituated to the first, and soon acquire the latter. By what I say of the 'times,' I do not refer to the probable short duration of this Government—that consideration would be a narrow and selfish motive for refusing to become a member of it; but I mean the peculiarly irritated state of the country, and the dangers which menace it from abroad; and I cannot wish you to be placed at once *in the breach*, to experience all the buffetings to which this would expose you, without the adequate means of resisting and counteracting them. I therefore am decidedly of opinion that you would not act fairly either by Perceval, by the public, or by yourself, were you to undertake the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, either in the first instance, or after the sort of preparatory seminary in which he proposes to place you; since, by taking the one post, you would virtually pledge

Lord Malmes-
bury's opinion.

yourself to accept the other ; and if, at the expiration of the time stated, you were to decline it, you would increase the difficulties you are desirous to alleviate. Without hesitation, I advise you to decline the greater office, and I do it more confidently, since every reason I could possibly urge you have anticipated in your very judicious and most rational remarks.

Correspondence with Lord Malmesbury.

“But, on the other hand, I am strongly inclined to recommend you to take the Secretaryship at War (with the Cabinet). It is a very reputable situation, which, without bringing you too forward at *once*, will, if you hold it a short time, infallibly lead you to the higher posts in the Cabinet, and one from which if you are dismissed you will not fall from a perilous height, or quit with any discredit.

“I have not time to add a word more. I can have no objection, if it be of any use to you, for you to tell Perceval my opinion. I wish his Government to be strong and lasting from the bottom of my heart.

“Ever, my dear Harry,

“Most truly and affectionately yours,

“M.

“I will return your letter to me to-morrow.”

“Admiralty, Oct. 18, 1809.

“MY DEAR LORD MALMESBURY,

“I have many thanks to give you for your very kind letter, which afforded me great satisfaction, by confirming the opinion which I had at first entertained of Perceval’s very flattering proposal, and which had been strengthened by all the reflection I had been able to bestow on the subject during the time that has elapsed since I wrote to you. I am just returned from Perceval, to whom I stated the result of my deliberation ; and that, fully sensible of the honour he did me in offering me the Ex-

Lord Palmerston’s reply.

Correspond-
ence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

chequer, I thought it most prudent to decline it, but should, however, feel much gratified by the appointment of Secretary at War, if it should be at his disposal. He then told me very frankly that, as he had mentioned in our former interview, it depended upon certain other arrangements whether he should be able to give me the office. That, conceiving that Milnes would be a very great acquisition to Government, if the bias he had in favour of Canning did not prevent him from joining us, he had written to him to say that he had to offer him such an official situation as (if inclined to take any) he would probably be disposed to accept. That, should Milnes come up in consequence, he meant to offer him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. But that it was possible Milnes might decline so ostensible a post, and that then, rather than run the risk of losing his support, he wished to offer him the War Office, which, in case he declined the other, he possibly might accept. That in such a case he would only have it in his power to offer me a seat at the Treasury, which he still hoped I would take, as it would let me more into business, and, if we stood our ground, pave the way to some further advance. He said he felt that this preference of Milnes might not appear very flattering to me, but he trusted I should view it in its right light, as proceeding from his great anxiety to secure a doubtful friend who might be of essential service to our cause. I assured him that my principal wish was that his Government should receive every

possible accession to strength, and that no personal considerations would prevent me from acquiescing in any arrangement which could conduce to that end, but that in point of fact the first offer he had made me of the Exchequer was so very flattering, that, having declined that, I could not in any case object to giving Milnes the preference as to the War Office; and that should he decide to take it, I should very willingly take a seat at the Treasury. I trust you will approve of this resolution. It may not at first sight appear worth while to move from hence to the Treasury; but in as far as it will initiate me into Treasury business, and give me better opportunities of communicating with Perceval and others as to the matter and conduct of debates which may arise, it will be a desirable move. Perceval then told me, in strict confidence (which, however, I do not consider myself as violating in mentioning it to *you*), that there was an idea of making George Rose Chancellor of the Exchequer; that the king had objected to it upon the ground of his being Clerk of the Parliament—an office he thought inconsistent with the other; that this objection, however, might perhaps be obviated; that this appointment would, however, be considered as temporary, and that if the administration lasted, I might still look forward to the situation. Whatever may be the result of this business, it must always be a source of great pride and gratification to me to have been thought worthy of so splendid an offer; and I am persuaded that no after-

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ence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

thoughts will diminish the satisfaction I feel of having been right in declining it.

“Milnes’ answer cannot be received for some days; but I shall not fail to let you know as soon as I hear anything more upon this subject.

“Ever, my dear Lord Malmesbury,

“Yours most affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.

“There is a hitch in Dundas’ appointment to the War Department, arising from Lord Melville, who probably wants it himself. Perceval seems, however, to think the general feeling against Lord Melville too strong to render it advisable to take him in; and probably when he finds that object unattainable, he will let his son accept what is tendered to him.

“Lord Mulgrave has sent to offer my seat at this Board to Percy—but that, of course, is not to be mentioned. I had immediately communicated Perceval’s offer to Lord Mulgrave, who talked to me about it in the kindest and most handsome manner, saying that, in his opinion, the only objection to my accepting it at once would arise from my own feelings upon the subject; and that, if I was not nervous about it, he advised me to take it.”

“Admiralty, Oct. 23, 1809.

“6 o'clock.

Correspond-
ence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

“MY DEAR LORD MALMESBURY,

“I have time only just to tell you that Milnes has come to town; and having had a long conference with Perceval, and also one with Canning, he has determined, upon hearing both sides, heartily to support Perceval, but declines office altogether. This latter resolution, which surprised me exceedingly, is founded upon real and unaffected diffidence. I think it a great pity, both for him and for us, as he would be more useful in office than out of it. The War Office has consequently come to me, conditionally, however, upon arrangements I will presently mention. In the mean time, Perceval having very handsomely given me the option of the Cabinet with the War Office (if I go to it), I thought it best on the whole to decline it; and I trust that, although you seemed to be of a different opinion at first, you will not, on the whole, think I was wrong. The office is one which does not invariably, or, indeed, usually go with the Cabinet. A seat there was consequently not an object to me for appearance' sake; and considering how young I am in office, people in general, so far from expecting to see me in the Cabinet by taking the War Office, would perhaps only wonder how I got there. With the Exchequer it would have been necessary, but with the War Office certainly not; and the business of the Department will, I take it, be quite sufficient to occupy one's

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Lord
Malmesbury.

time without attending Cabinet Councils. It would undoubtedly have been highly interesting ; but for all purposes of business or debate, Perceval will of course keep one sufficiently informed to answer all one's wishes, at first at least. The arrangements on which the doubts I mentioned in the first page depend are, the determination of Rose upon the Exchequer, which, in consequence of Milnes' refusal, has been offered to him, and the final decision of Dundas about the War Department, which it seems not impossible Lord Melville may not let him take. Lord Melville is, I fancy, in high dudgeon at a letter, more candid perhaps than cautious, which Perceval wrote to him, explaining as delicately as possible, at the same time without reserve or limitation, the reasons which had induced him absolutely to decline offering Lord Melville an official situation, but concluding by the proffer of an earldom as a testimony of the approbation of the King of his long and distinguished services. This offer Lord Melville refuses rather sulkily, and, upon the reasons and decision of Perceval, observes that they are unfounded in fact, and unwise in policy ; alluding to the ground on which Perceval placed his resolve—the apprehension of the popular clamour which his taking office might create against the Government. The situations which Perceval wishes to keep unsettled till tomorrow, with the intention of giving me one or other, according as it may best suit his other arrangements, are—the War Office, the Treasurer of the Navy, and

the Board of Trade, should Rose take the Exchequer. If Dundas does not come in, Ryder will probably have the War Department. Dundas will be a great loss.

Correspond-
ence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

“Adieu, my dear Lord Malmesbury,

“Ever yours most affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

“Admiralty, Oct. 25, 1809.

“MY DEAR LORD MALMESBURY,

“Nothing is settled as yet; but Dundas has positively refused the War Department, and, I am told, Rose also the Exchequer, and that Perceval means to offer the latter to Charles Long. The defection of Dundas may be hurtful, as it will a little shake the allegiance of the Scotch members, but he will certainly support us, though he does not take office. The idea of having recourse to ‘the Doctor’ seems again revived in consequence of this circumstance, but I know not upon what foundation. I am to dine to-morrow at Perceval’s, to meet Milnes and Lowther, and shall probably hear something more about my own fate. We have had very bad accounts this morning from Flushing. There are but three thousand five hundred men fit for duty out of the whole garrison, and the enemy are rapidly increasing their preparations for attack. The Cabinet have not yet decided whether the island is to be, or, indeed, can be, retained or not. The officers of the two services have given twenty different and contradictory opinions on the subject, and Strachan himself has changed his mind three or four times about

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Lord
Malmesbury.

it. His present opinion is, that it is not tenable without an enormous naval force, amounting to what would be equivalent to at least eighteen sail of the line, besides the same fleet which would be necessary for the blockade if we had not the island. The navy continues perfectly healthy, but the land sickness seems rather to increase than abate.

“ Ever, my dear Lord Malmesbury,

“ Yours affectionately,

“ PALMERSTON.”

“ Admiralty, Oct. 27, 1809.

“ MY DEAR LORD MALMESBURY,

“ Upon Rose* declining to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Long,† I believe, giving the same answer, it was yesterday settled that I should be Secretary at War, and I accordingly entered upon my functions this morning. There appears to be full employment in the office, but at the same time not of a nature to alarm one, and I think I shall like it very much. Lord Melville has relented, and Dundas accordingly yesterday agreed to take office ; but he has preferred returning to the Board of Control. It is Richard Ryder to whom the War Department was offered, and I should think he will, or indeed must, take it, as there is no one else in fact to whom it can well be given, as we want a Secretary of State in the

* The Right Hon. George Rose was Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy.

† The Right Hon. Charles Long was joint Paymaster-General of the Forces.

House of Commons. Lord Harrowby has agreed to take the Foreign Department if Lord Wellesley declines it.

Correspondence with Lord Malmesbury.

“ I dined yesterday at Perceval’s, at Ealing, with Milnes and Lowther. The former I am almost inclined to think will remain staunch to us. His present opinion at least is very strong, for on returning he expressed his hopes that we ‘ should be able to fix this *honest little fellow* * firmly in his seat, as it is a struggle of principle on the one hand, against trimming and political intrigue on the other.’ He seems very much steadier than he used to be, and I should not be surprised if he were to fag very hard in Parliament; and then if he acquires, as he will, a certain confidence in himself, and Perceval still keeps the office open for him, it is not impossible that he may take it before the session is over. Percy has, as I expected, refused the Admiralty, and Lord Mulgrave has offered it to Lowther, who will most probably take it. He seems to wish it himself, and Lord Lonsdale will no doubt be glad to get him employed, with the hope of taking him a little away from the turf. The Jubilee seems to have been very happily celebrated everywhere. Nothing could be better than its effect in London, and the town

* Mr. Milnes was, as it has been seen, at one time very hostile to Mr. Perceval and very friendly to Mr. Canning. But he was a high-minded impressionable man, who always found something to condemn on all sides, and on this occasion, after being a partizan of Mr. Canning, he became a partizan of Mr. Perceval, but not enough so to join his ministry.

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Lord
Malmesbury.

appeared in the evening to be as quiet and orderly as could possibly be wished. The public offices and a few other buildings were illuminated, and the mob were occupied the whole night in gaping at them, and cheering as any carriage passed by. The only exercise of their sovereign authority was compelling all the coachmen and servants to pull off their hats as they passed the illuminated crowns over the Admiralty gate. We were the great attraction, and the bulk of the mob were stationed opposite this building the whole of the night. Nothing seems yet to be known of the terms of peace, although no doubt can be entertained of its having been signed. But Strahremberg,* two days before the news arrived, was presenting papers, containing assurances from persons at his court, that peace would not take place, and that they were resolved upon breaking the armistice.

“ Adieu ! my dear Lord Malmesbury,

“ Ever yours most affectionately,

“ PALMERSTON.”

“ War Office, Nov. 9, 1809.

“ MY DEAR LORD MALMESBURY,

“ I understand that Lord Wellesley has agreed to take office, but under an impression as to what has happened which is not quite correct, and therefore it is just possible that when, upon his arrival, he finds himself to have conceived the case

* Prince Strahremberg, Austrian ambassador in London.

to be stronger than it is, his inclination towards us may be weakened. He understands that a distinct proposition to place him at the head of the Government had been rejected by Canning, and that was the point on which he went out. Now, in point of fact, what did take place was so nearly tantamount to this, that I cannot conceive it probable that any change can take place in his determination. He clearly understands that the offer now made him is, not to be at the head of the Government, but to join it. It has at length been determined to abandon Walcheren. I fear it could not possibly have been retained without an expense infinitely beyond its value; and the peace between France and Austria will at least furnish a pretence for the measure. It is only to be regretted that this decision was not sooner taken, as the Cabinet have for a month had all the documents before them on which it is founded, and in the mean time a great number of lives have been lost by the disorder in the island. I am going to Cambridge this evening, to vote at an election for a public orator to-morrow, and return to town on Saturday or Sunday. I continue to like this office very much. *There is a good deal to be done; but if one is confined it is some satisfaction to have some real business to do; and if they leave us in long enough, I trust much may be accomplished in arranging the interior details of the office, so as to place it on a respectable footing.*

Correspondence with Lord Malmesbury.

“ Its inadequacy to get through the current business that comes before it is really a disgrace to the

Correspondence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

country; and the arrear of Regimental Accounts unsettled is of a magnitude not to be conceived. We are now working at the Treasury, to induce them to agree to a plan proposed originally by Sir James Pulteney, and reconsidered by Granville Leveson,* by which I think we shall provide for the current business, and the arrear must then be got rid of as well as we can contrive to do it.

“ Adieu! my dear Lord Malmesbury,

“ Ever yours most affectionately,

“ PALMERSTON.

“ William is come to town to begin his law.”

“ War Office, Nov. 24, 1809.

“ MY DEAR LORD MALMESBURY,

“ I regret much to find that it is not in my power to execute my intention of going to Park Place to-morrow, as some arrangements respecting the Clerical Establishment, which I had hoped to get settled, are still undecided; and it would not be convenient for me to leave town until some determination is made upon them, as perpetual reference is necessary with the Treasury and Sir David.† I trust, however, that I shall be able to accomplish my visit next week, and shall in that case probably be able to bring Sullivan, who could not have left London to-morrow.

“ I am glad to find Lord Wellesley has so readily

* The two Secretaries at War, who had held that office in succession immediately before Lord Palmerston.

† Sir David Dundas.

accepted the offer made to him, and that he does it with such cheerful views of the prospect before him. He writes to Arbuthnot that, although the present situation of affairs in Europe was certainly far from promising, he yet hoped that much might still be accomplished, and felt, at all events, confident that as much could be done as had been performed by any ministry since the death of Mr. Pitt. He was to set out in the 'Donegal' immediately, and may be expected to arrive in the course of a week or ten days. It was in consequence of reading all the papers and correspondence which had passed among the different actors in the late comedy of errors, conveyed to him by Mr. Sydenham, that he determined to join Perceval. Arbuthnot* told me yesterday, that Canning or his friends give out that *he* persuaded Milnes not to take office, that Milnes asked his opinion of the propriety of his doing so, and that on his advising him not, Milnes said that nine reasons out of ten which had occurred to himself weighed against the acceptance of office, and that Canning's opinion had finally turned the scale. How far anything of this sort may have passed between them it is impossible to say; but I am quite convinced that, if there is any faith to be placed in human nature, Milnes left London zealously resolved to support Perceval, and that whatever considerations might have operated in persuading him to decline office, a leaning to Canning was not among the number. I find old

Correspondence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

* Secretary of the Treasury.

Correspondence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

Dundas has a strong national propensity to a job. He sent me a letter the other day to say, that the King having signified his pleasure that *General Delancey* should be made a Commissioner for managing Chelsea Hospital, he requested I would make out a warrant appointing him one accordingly. It struck me that this was so very objectionable a thing, and one for which I should perhaps be held so personally responsible, that I communicated the thing to Perceval, who fully agreed with me as to the impropriety of the appointment, and the affair has in consequence been stopped. I wonder that Dundas was not aware of the impolicy to himself and General Delancey of bringing the latter again under public discussion, when the best he can hope is to have his conduct forgotten.* The Treasury are en-

* Lord Palmerston here alludes to the first report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry, presented in 1806, "from which it appeared that General Delancey, late Barrack-master-General, who filled that office from 1793 to 1804, had been accustomed, in making up his accounts with the public, to take credit to himself for one per cent. on the whole expenditure of the barrack department, under the title of *contingencies for additional charge and responsibility for unsettled accounts*. It appeared also that he had charged the public twice in one year with his pay and allowances; from the whole of which it followed that, supposing his accounts, not yet audited, to be in other respects correct, but subducting these charges, which on no account could be allowed, he was indebted to the public in the sum of 97,415*l.*, instead of 6,865*l.*, which was the balance he acknowledged to be due by him."—*Annual Register*, vol. *xlvi*iii. p. 79. He was also, according to the third report of the Commissioners, somewhat mixed up with Mr. Alex. Davison, Treasurer of the Ordnance, whose fraudulent transactions with the public money were brought before the notice of Parliament in 1807.—*Vide Annual Register*, vol. *xlix*. p. 100-102. Sir David Dundas was his son-in-law.

deavouring to sound the disposition of members by letters announcing the time fixed for the meeting of Parliament; but, generally speaking, they do not seem apprehensive of any great defalcation. Some speculating politicians will probably not attend at first, and some votes will be unavailable the first day or two, from their seats being vacant by office; but it appears to be thought that if we stand the first brunt of attack we shall rather gain than lose strength. Petty's elevation to the Upper House is a great circumstance for us, not so much from the harm which he would have done us by his individual attacks, as from the unity and vigour the Opposition would have acquired by placing him, ostensibly at least, at their head; a situation for which he was well qualified, but into which there is not another individual among them whom they can with equal advantage elect.

"It is supposed that Tierney will succeed Ponsonby, who decidedly retires; but Tierney is not the man whom many on that side of the House would willingly follow; they neither respect nor trust him.

"Adieu! my dear Lord Malmesbury,

"Ever yours affectionately,

"PALMERSTON."

"War Office, Dec. 21, 1809.

"MY DEAR LORD MALMESBURY,

"I am very fearful it will not be in my power to visit you at Park Place this Christmas, as, if I am

Correspondence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

Correspondence with
Lord
Malmesbury.

able to leave town for a couple of days, I must go down to Cambridge. This is the best time for seeing the Johnians collected, and under the present circumstances it would be unwise to lose an occasion of maintaining one's ground among them. There is, I believe, no foundation whatever for the rumours of resignations and disputes; of the latter the Cabinet appear to have had enough to satisfy them. Nor is there any truth in the report of overtures having been received from France for a congress, or other negotiation. There has been some sort of communication about an exchange of prisoners, but it is doubtful whether it will lead to anything.

“Perceval seems to feel very confident as to the meeting of Parliament. It is intended to lay before the House all the official correspondence relative to the expedition,* but to resist any further inquiry, unless in the course of debate anything should be urged by persons connected with either of the two services, which should place the question in a different point of view from that in which it now stands.

“Adieu! my dear Lord Malmesbury,

“Ever yours most affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

Remarks.

The acceptance of the War Office, as detailed in the above correspondence, is perhaps the most remarkable circumstance in this biography. Nineteen out of twenty young men either hastily grasp at the highest

* Walcheren.

post they can get, or, shrinking from the temptation to be great in their youth, consent to embrace mediocrity in after years. It requires more than an ordinary lantern to discover a man who is daily testing his own strength with confidence and without vanity ; ready to use it to the full extent of its powers, and wary as to exerting it beyond them. But, though Lord Palmerston had declined the brilliant offer to accept the safe one, the addition which his position received from his new post was still considerable, and he was about to increase it by becoming member for the University which he had twice already essayed to represent ; he was also in a foremost post in that great fight which was waging between the universal tyranny of Napoleon and the spirit of liberty which still defied him in Great Britain. The following letters to his sister relate to these two subjects and the ordinary occupations of a gay though busy man's existence. He is playing whist and drinking punch with the fellows at Cambridge. He is making, with considerable success, his first speech on the war estimates in the House of Commons. He is reading despatches from Lord Wellington in Portugal ; he is shooting, and nearly shot by a spring gun at Mr. Conyers' ; he is lending one of his comical hats for the hunting-field to his brother William at Broadlands. He is going in for life at every corner of it.

To the Hon. Miss Temple.

Letters.

“Admiralty, Jan. 4, 1810.

“MY DEAR FANNY,

“I enclose some little *billets-doux* for you and William, which came in a very questionable shape.

“I went to Cambridge on Monday evening, and spent Tuesday and yesterday in paying visits and playing whist and drinking punch with the fellows. I found everything looking very well, although a number of new candidates have been showing themselves; but I am not much apprehensive of their doing me much harm. Law,* a son of Lord Ellenborough, who is also of St. John's, has been about with Lord John Townshend,† intending to stand upon Petty's interest; but among my friends I do not find that he has made any way, and though it has been expected that from being a Johnian he would draw off much of my strength, I do not much fear him. He is, besides, only nineteen and a half, so that at all events he cannot stand for a year and a half. I left Cambridge last night, and arrived here between six and seven this morning. The weather has been remarkably favourable for my purposes, being both mild and dry; and I suppose it has been equally propitious for William's snipe shooting. . . . The state of things in India is unpleasant,

* The present Earl of Ellenborough, G.C.B., Governor-General of India from 1842 to 1844.

† Lord John Townshend had formerly represented the University in Parliament from 1780 to 1784. He sat for Westminster from 1788 to 1790, and for Knaresborough from 1793 to 1818, when he retired from public life. He died Feb. 25, 1833, aged 76.

but there is not the slightest foundation for the Letters. reports of the murder and imprisonment of Sir George Barlow* and Lord Minto.†

“ Adieu! my dear Fanny,

“ Ever your affectionate brother,

“ PALMERSTON.”

“ Lower Grosvenor Street, Feb. 27, 1810.

“ MY DEAR FANNY,

“ I am glad to hear that Elizabeth’s cold is so much better, and hope that, with this beautiful weather, it will soon get quite well. I have been of late so busily engaged in preparing the army estimates, that I really have not had time to write to you. However, that ordeal is now nearly over, though there is still hanging over me some little discussion on the report. It is very gratifying to me to find that I got through the business in a manner that was generally considered satisfactory. My friends were of course bound to say that I had acquitted myself well; but I have received expressions of commendation from the Opposition, which are the more flattering, as they may be considered as conveying the real opinion of those from whom they proceed. Windham was pleased to make honourable mention of me in his speech; and, what I certainly least expected,

* A distinguished member of the H.E.I.C. Civil Service, at that time Governor of Madras.

† Then Governor-General of India. As Sir Gilbert Elliot, he was, in 1779, Envoy Extraordinary to Vienna; Viceroy of Corsica, 1797, when he was made a peer; President of the Board of Control in 1806; Governor-General of India from 1807 to 1813, when he was raised to an earldom. He died in 1814.

Letters.

Whitbread, with whom I had never before exchanged a word, took occasion, as he met me entering the House yesterday, to say some very handsome things to me about perspicuity and information. The 'Courier' gives a very good report of what I said, barring a few mistakes in figures, of which, however, it is only surprising there are so few.

"We had last night a most extraordinary display of folly, coarseness, and vulgarity from Fuller, who, because Sir John Anstruther,* Chairman of the Committee, would not take notice of him, when he several times attempted to rise, in order to put some very gross and absurd questions to Lord Chatham, flew out into such a passion, and swore, and abused the Chairman and the House to such a degree that it became at last necessary to commit him to custody. As he went out he shook his fist at the Speaker, and said he was a d——d insignificant little puppy, and snapping his fingers at him, said he did not care *that* for him or the House either. He is now amusing himself with the serjeant-at-arms, and I think was very lucky in not being sent to Newgate or the Tower.

"I shall not be able to get down to Park Place this week, but I have ordered a new pair of *pumps*, and as soon as they are ready I shall take the first opportunity of running down to join your dancing parties.

"Did you see the following epigram the other day

* A distinguished lawyer, who had been Chief Justice of Bengal from 1798 to 1806.

in the 'Chronicle'? if you did not it is a pity you Letters. should miss it, and I send it you; it is by Jekyll.*—

“ ‘ Lord Chatham, with his sword undrawn,
 Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
 Sir Richard, eager to get at 'em,
 Stood waiting—but for what?—Lord Chatham!’

“ It is very good, I think, both in rhyme and point.

“ Yorke, you see, has succeeded poor Eden† as Teller of the Exchequer. I cannot help thinking, on the whole, that it is almost a pity he has taken it, as he stood so high as an independent character; and the other day in the House, having said that he should support every and any Government during the life of the present King, he added, in answer to a taunting cheer from the Opposition, that he did it from independent conviction of what was right, and that he had nothing *to hope* or fear from any set of ministers. On the other hand, he is a very fit man for any mark of favour, and is, moreover, very poor. At all events it is a great instance of self-denial and disinterestedness on the part of Perceval that, with his large family, he did not give it to his son. It certainly would have made an outcry; but there is not a man, I am persuaded, on the Opposition side who would not have taken it under the same circumstances.

“ Adieu! my dear Fanny; my best love to all,

“ Ever your affectionate brother,

“ PALMERSTON.”

* Afterwards a Master in Chancery, a post which the Prince Regent obtained for him by personally soliciting it from Lord Eldon.

† The Hon. Wm. F. Eden, eldest son of the first Lord Auckland, was found drowned in the Thames Feb. 24, 1810.

Letters.

“ War Office, Friday, Oct. 19, 1810.

“ MY DEAR FANNY,

“ Despatches are just arrived from Lord Wellington, dated the 5th inst. The French had pushed on their outposts towards Coimbra on the 30th; and on the 1st Lord Wellington fell back by Pombal to Leyria and Alcobaça, where he arrived the 5th, and on the 7th, the day on which Walsh, the messenger, left Lisbon, he was expected at Rio Mayor, near Santarem.* Lord Wellington says† the army are within a few leagues of the ground on which he means them to fight the enemy; and as the French were advancing with the evident intention of fighting, a battle must ere this have been fought, which will decide the fate of Portugal, and probably of Spain. The French were at Condexa. Nothing of consequence had happened in the retreat, only a few skirmishes between the cavalry and light troops.

* “ When Massena retired, he took up a defensive situation before Santarem. He was now blockaded by the British forces, and had to depend for his supplies on the bare country behind him.

“ On the 6th of March, Wellington, who long maintained, contrary to general opinion, that Massena would be forced to retire from want of provisions, received information that he had retired, and immediately put his troops in motion in three columns. He pursued the enemy with skill; and on the 6th the French crossed the Aquado into Spain.”
—*KNIGHT'S History of England*, vol. vii., p. 539.

† *Note from an Officer in the Guards*.—“ As Lord Wellington said, the army at the time he spoke of was within a few miles of the spot where it was intended to fight a battle. But we met with no provocation from Massena, whilst the game of our chief was a defensive one. We were covered by the lines of Torres Vedras in a triple defence. These lines were maintained harmlessly for six weeks, when Massena broke up and retired, Nov. 16, 1810.”

Stuart sends an intercepted letter from Massena, Letters. dated Vizeu, September 27th, which gives a striking picture of the state of his army. He complains dreadfully of the roads: '*Nous passons par des chemins affreux hérissés de rochers.*' His artillery and baggage have suffered much, and must, he says, rest two days at Vizeu to repair damages. He says he means to go to Coimbra, where he hears the English and Portuguese army is. He says: '*Monseigneur, nous passons à travers un désert; on ne rencontre nulle part une âme;*' that consequently he could get no guides; that his men lived on potatoes they dug up, and grain they gathered in the fields. Our army were in high health and spirits.

"Adieu! Love to all,

"Ever your affectionate brother,

"PALMERSTON.

"This wind must bring us news in a day or two."

"War Office, Oct. 29, 1810.

"MY DEAR FANNY,

"Still no news from Portugal, and, as the wind blows, no probability of any for some days.

"I went down to Conyers' on Monday morning to breakfast, shot there on Monday, and returned to town on Tuesday morning. The party consisted of William and Lady Caroline Lamb, and a Dr. Dowdeswell. The day was terribly stormy; it blew an absolute hurricane, and *therefore* I killed only one brace of pheasants. Lamb* was luckier, and always

* Afterwards Lord Melbourne.

Letters.

found the wind *lower* when he fired, by which means he killed four brace.

“Mrs. Conyers and Julia were as delightful as usual, and Mr. Conyers as entertaining as ever. The chief objection to the shooting is that it is all wood shooting, the fields being entirely grass; and those woods contain more spring-guns and steel-traps than pheasants. I was unpleasantly disturbed in my progress by the wire of a spring-gun, which on looking round I saw staring me full in the face. Luckily, however, it was not loaded, or at least the powder in the pan was quite wet and useless; but I did not feel quite comfortable during the rest of the day whenever a bramble caught my legs. Old Conyers says he is sure some dreadful accident will happen some day with them, but he is overruled by the *youthful ardour* of his sons; in the mean time he dares not go into any of his woods, and, though fond of planting, is afraid of putting foot into any of his numerous plantations, lest he should leave it behind him.

“Sullivan has told you I have made Shee Agent-General to Volunteers and Local Military. It is a very good appointment, being worth 1000*l.* per annum. There is a good deal to do, and a good deal of pecuniary responsibility attached to the office; but I have no doubt he will get through it very well, and he was dying for employment; and, between ourselves, I suspect some excuse for seeing a little less of dear Mrs. Shee, notwithstanding his animated eulo-

giums of her at Walcot. I was very glad to be able Letters.
to do it. Hassell, the former agent, being rich and
idle, has resigned.

“Adieu! my dear Fanny,

“Your affectionate brother,

“PALMERSTON.”

“War Office, Dec. 29, 1810.

“MY DEAR FANNY,

“My cold is quite well, and has been so for
the last two days. I enclose a draft for 50*l.* for
clothing for the Romsey people, as usual. Will you
tell Elizabeth to let me know what I owe her? Tell
William he may hunt Pitch whenever he likes, and
I am sure he will be well and pleasantly carried;
and whenever he goes out it will do Highlander
good to let young John Ashley ride him. I am
much amused at William becoming a Nimrod, and
complaining the first time he goes out of the hounds
pottering about the covers. I expect to hear of his
leading the field next. *He may wear any of my
various comical hats if he likes them.*

“Pray tell Emma how glad I am to hear of her
acquisition, as I always must be at anything agreeable
that happens to her.

“The King is a little better, but has been, I believe,
very dangerously ill. We are, I think, all on the *kick
and the go*, but have probably a month to run.

“Adieu! My love to all,

“Ever your affectionate brother,

“PALMERSTON.”

Remarks.

In allusion to what is said of Lord Palmerston's statement—much noticed at the time—on the estimates, I quote a passage, though in some of the many biographical sketches it has been already quoted, because it shows our force at that time in arms; indeed, if I were not cautious of overloading these volumes with already published matter, I should make further extracts from a speech which bears ample evidence of careful preparation.

Speech.

“Our military force is at this moment as efficient in discipline as it is in numbers; and this not only in the regular army, but in the militia, volunteers, and other descriptions of force. We have six hundred thousand men in arms, besides a navy of two hundred thousand. The masculine energies of the nation were never more conspicuous, and the country never at any period of its history stood in so proud and glorious a position. After a conflict for fifteen years against an enemy whose power has been progressively increasing, we are still able to maintain the war with augmenting force and a population, by the pressure of external circumstances, consolidated into an impregnable military mass. Our physical strength has risen as the crisis that required it has become more important; and if we do not present the opposition of those numerous fortresses to invaders which are to be found on the Continent, we do present the more insuperable barrier of a high-spirited, patriotic, and enthusiastic people.”

Remarks.

I have just observed that I was tempted to make

further extracts from this very able speech, and the indulgent critic might probably have pardoned me if I had done so; whereas it may be thought on the other hand, that I have injudiciously quoted letters which may seem frivolous when introduced into the biography of a veteran statesman. But I have dwelt, I confess, with detail and pleasure on this early epoch of Lord Palmerston's life, because, to those who only saw or knew him in his old age, there is something that freshens and brightens his memory in recurring to his youth, when we see him stepping on to the platform of life with the same gay and somewhat jaunty step, and yet with the same serious and business-like intent, that carried him on cheerfully and steadily along a sunshiny path through his long career. Remarks.

That, indeed, to which I here wish more particularly to call attention, is the universality of the man, who makes the business-like speech, writes the lively letter,—boasts of the “new pumps,” &c. He was not a prig or a coxcomb, but naturally grave and naturally gay; hearty in any pursuit, whether of business in the senate or of pleasure in the ball-room; taking pains to please without seeming to expect admiration. Hence he never made those enemies who are aroused by high pretensions, and he gathered round him that general good-will which gives a slow but steady current to a statesman's fortunes. There was, moreover, under the apparent mixture of seriousness and frivolity which marked

Remarks.

this portion of Lord Palmerston's life, a steady pluck and character, and a reliance on the strength of a right cause, which contrast favourably and singularly with the diffidence shown when, the question being merely a personal one, he put aside the temptation of a seat in the Cabinet and one of the first offices of state. The qualities to which I thus draw attention were tested in a very trying manner not long after his entry into his new office.

There existed at that time a Secretary *for* War, who had little or nothing to do with details, but to consider the general war policy and the direction of the great military operations of the country. He was usually the Minister of the Colonies, or at times of another department. There was then the Commander-in-Chief of the army, who was exclusively charged with the discipline, recruiting, and promotions of the army; and there was then the Secretary *at* War, who was charged with and responsible for the expenses and accounts of the army; or, in other words, with controlling the military disbursements and superintending the settlement of the military accounts.

On the whole these duties were pretty clearly separated and defined. The one nevertheless ran in certain instances into the other, especially in respect to forms; and I may mention two cases almost immediately after Lord Palmerston's installation at the War Office, concerning which the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary at War came into conflict.

1st. Generals on the home staff had the right to a

certain number of aides-de-camp, for whom the Government paid; and they often got paid for aides-de-camp whom they never had. The Secretary at War, deeming this a question of expense, required a return from the Horse Guards of all generals on the staff and their aides-de-camp on duty, in order to make his payments accordingly. Remarks.

2nd. The colonels of regiments were allowed so much to clothe the men, the sum granted being paid to their agents. But the Secretary at War said that he ought to have proof that the clothiers who had furnished the articles required were satisfied with the public money being paid to the colonels' agents, and not to themselves—that is, in fact, he ought to be satisfied that the said clothiers were paid, or were satisfied they would be paid, for the goods delivered.

There can be no doubt that what the Secretary at War required in both instances was essentially for the public service, and intimately connected with the military expense. But Sir David Dundas, who had been appointed* Commander-in-Chief after the temporary retirement of the Duke of York, deemed that Lord Palmerston had greatly overstepped his province in interfering on his own authority in these matters. He contended that the Secretary at War was his subordinate, that all orders ought to come from him: but, admitting that a general ought not to be paid for aides-de-camp when he had not got them, he undertook to inform the

* March 25, 1809.

Remarks.

Secretary at War when this was the case. With respect to the clothiers, however, he objected altogether to any interference. It was something, in his own language "so novel, so extraordinary, and likely to lead to such consequences," that he could not attempt to answer it offhand. He applied on the subject to Mr. Perceval, advancing as his theory, that though the payment made to the colonels was public money, to be applied for a public purpose, they were to deal with it as private money; owing the persons they employed for regimental clothes as they would for their own clothes; and that the War Office, if the clothes, &c., were approved, had no business to inquire as to whether the persons who furnished them were paid or not.

He complained, moreover, generally that the War Office was becoming too arrogant and independent. The Secretary at War, however, would not recede. He maintained that with respect to the clothiers he was merely fulfilling his duty according to a recent Act of Parliament, and that, as to his general position, he held, as the representative of Parliamentary control over the military expenditure, and as the civil servant of the crown in military matters, an independent post, which, though inferior to that of Commander-in-Chief, was not subordinate to it.

"I have always understood," he says, "and the doctrine seems also recognized in the sixth report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, that the Commander-in-Chief presides over the discipline, and the

Secretary at War over the finance of the army ; that Remarks.
each is responsible and competent to act independently on matters which concern his particular province ; but that on questions in which the two are blended, previous mutual communication should take place." On the one hand, Lord Palmerston referred for his independence to an order, November 1, 1804, which says, " All applications relative to military disbursements or to pecuniary claims to pay allowances, &c., and all letters which have for their object the construction and explanation of Acts of Parliament regarding the military service, or which have reference to the civil police of the country, are as formerly to be addressed to the Right Hon. the Secretary at War."

On the other hand, Sir David Dundas founded his superiority on the instruction given in the Secretary at War's commission under the sign manual : " You are to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from us or the general of our forces for the time being, according to the discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you and your duty to us."

There were certainly two sides to the shield. But Mr. Perceval refused to decide which was the right one, and contented himself with begging both parties to pocket their differences. This Sir David, however, refused to do ; and though when the Duke of York returned to his post* he was more moderate and courteous in his language than Sir David, he persisted in

* In May, 1811.

Remarks.

the same theory; consequently the views of the parties were ultimately brought before the Prince Regent, to whom Lord Palmerston clearly stated that he considered himself placed "as a sort of barrier between the military authority of the officers in command of the army, and the civil rights of the people," stating that "no alteration could take place in this situation *without the interference of Parliament.*"

This consideration, in fact, regulated his Royal Highness's decision, which was to leave things as they were, without saying what they were; adding, that if anything new was suggested by the Secretary at War relative to his functions, then it should be communicated to the Commander-in-Chief, and adopted if the two authorities were agreed; whilst, if they disagreed, the nature of the disagreement should be placed before the First Lord of the Treasury, who would take the pleasure of his Royal Highness the Regent thereupon.

This, in fact, solved none of the questions that had been raised; but it prevented the entire subordination of the civil authority to the military one—a result of which Lord Palmerston may fairly claim the merit.

An explanation that he wrote at this time of the historical character and position of the Secretary at War is one of the ablest papers in the War Office, and will be found in the Appendix.*

* Pages 384-417.

BOOK III.

Perceval's death—Palmerston remains in Lord Liverpool's Government—Speaks in favour of Catholic Emancipation—Turn in the war—Speech on army estimates—Policy as to colonies—State of England—Alarm—Escape from assassination—Correspondence at Horse Guards—Speeches in Parliament—General position—Without party friends—New party formed—Election for Cambridge separates him from the old Tories—Correspondence.

A CONSIDERABLE space now intervenes in the private 1812. correspondence in my possession. Meanwhile the ministry of Perceval, which, as may be seen by one or two of the letters I have quoted, was but a rickety one, terminated by the melancholy death of that statesman, May 11, 1812. The general desire produced by this event was to see a Government formed equal to the critical situation of affairs; but this desire was rendered abortive by the public and private differences existing at that time amongst leading statesmen, and the country saw with disappointment the advent of an administration, universally considered the weakest that ever undertook to hold the helm of a great state, yet which suffered

Remarks.

less from opponents, and was more favoured by events, than almost any other that has conducted the affairs of England. In this administration Lord Palmerston, having refused,—before the offer was made to Mr. Peel,—the Secretaryship for Ireland, maintained, without rise or fall, during fifteen years the post which he had received in 1810 from Mr. Perceval, uniting during this period the pleasures of a man of the world with the duties of a man of business. No one went more into what is vulgarly termed “fashionable society,” or attended more scrupulously to the affairs of his office; no one made better speeches on the question, whatever it was, that his place required him to speak on, or spoke less when a speech from him was not wanted. His ambition seemed confined to performing his peculiar functions with credit, without going out of the beaten track as a volunteer for distinction. To this general rule, however, there was one exception; when Mr. Grattan, in 1813, brought forward the question of Catholic Emancipation, he made an eloquent oration in support of it. Still the line he took was cautious. He did not assert that the State had not the right to exclude the Catholic body from participation in its affairs;—a consideration for the public interests was, according to him, supreme over all other considerations; but in this case he contended that the State imperilled itself by the measures it adopted for its security.

“If I think,” he said, “that there is no real Speech. danger in the removal of these disabilities, accompanied by such other corresponding regulations as the House may ultimately adopt, I do think there is both inconvenience and danger in the continuance of the present anomalous state of things.

* * * * *

“Is it wise to say to men of rank and property, who, from old lineage or present possessions, have a deep interest in the common weal, that they live in a country where, by the blessings of a free constitution, it is possible for any man, themselves only excepted, by the honest exertion of talents and industry in the avocations of political life, to make himself honoured and respected by his countrymen, and to render good service to the State ;—that they alone can never be permitted to enter this career ; that they may, indeed, usefully employ themselves in the humbler avocations of private life, but that public service they never can perform, public honour they never shall attain ? What we have lost by the continuance of this system it is not for man to know ; what we might have lost can be more easily imagined. If it had unfortunately happened that, by the circumstances of birth and education, a Nelson, a Wellington, a Burke, a Fox, or a Pitt, had belonged to this class of the community, of what honours and what glory might not the page of British history have been deprived ? To what perils and calamities might not this country

Speech.

have been exposed? The question is not whether we would have so large a part of the population Catholic or not. There they are, and we must deal with them as we can. It is in vain to think that by any human pressure we can stop the spring which gushes from the earth. But it is for us to consider whether we will force it to spend its strength in secret and hidden courses, undermining our fences, and corrupting our soil, or whether we shall at once turn the current into the open and spacious channel of honourable and constitutional ambition, converting it into the means of national prosperity and public wealth."

Remarks.

He argued in this manner; for his nature was not one that lingers over abstract rights or speculative theories: the broad fact which struck him practically, and which struck him the more forcibly, as being one of a school which considered the power and greatness of his country the main object of a statesman, was, that the discontented condition of a large portion of British subjects weakened, when their contentment would strengthen England. He saw, in the one case, Ireland, a snarling cur worrying our heels; in the other, a gallant and faithful mastiff standing by our side.

The war in the mean time took a sudden turn; light penetrated the gloom that had long obscured the prospects of Europe: the great conqueror became the conquered; and he who had refused to have his sway limited by the Rhine accepted as his empire

a microscopic island in the Mediterranean. In such Remarks.
a position it was certain he would not long remain ;
but in a new struggle with fortune he was again
overpowered ; and in the last and fatal battle which
decided his fate, and that of Europe, a British com-
mander at the head of British troops had been
victorious. This was a proud time for England, and
the more severe and exciting labours of the Secre-
tary at War were over. But if he had lighter work
at the War Office, he had heavier in the House of
Commons, with which it was easier to deal when
the Minister who had to ask for the means to
support a large army could plead we were engaged in
a gigantic conflict, than when, with an army which
still seemed large to those who had to pay for it, he
could not pretend it was wanted for a foreign
foe.

On one of these occasions (in 1816) he had to en-
counter Mr. Brougham, who had just been making
one of those powerful but discursive harangues with
which he used to overawe the Treasury bench ; and
one cannot but admire the readiness and courage with
which the usually silent Secretary at War puts aside
the arguments of a speech it would have been difficult
to answer, and retorts the sarcasm of an antagonist
whom most would have feared to provoke. We can
see him rising, with an undisturbed and half careless
air, as he says, " The honourable and learned member Speech.
has made an accusation, which I certainly cannot retort
upon that honourable gentleman himself, namely, that

Speech.

he very seldom troubles the House with his observations. I, at all events, will abstain from all declamation, and from any dissertation on the Constitution, and confine myself to the business at present on hand—the Army Estimates of the current year.”

Remarks.

It may be interesting to notice the extent and employment of our army at this period. Exclusive of the troops in India, and the army in occupation of France, the total number of men proposed in the votes was 99,000. These were divided under four heads: those stationed in Great Britain; those in Ireland; those in our old colonies, that is, the colonies we had possessed previously to the war; and those in our new colonies, which we had acquired during the progress of the war. It was proposed to have 25,000 troops in Great Britain, the same number in Ireland; 23,800 in our old colonies, and 22,200 in the new. Add to these 3,000, as a reserve for reliefs to the colonial garrisons.

Speech.

“With respect to the old colonies, the estimates provided only,” says Lord Palmerston, “7,000 men more than had garrisoned them previously to the outbreak of the war. In the whole of our North American possessions, the Bahamas included, there were only 4,000 men more than there had been in 1791. There were many causes,” he urged, “for this augmentation. The increasing population required larger means of defence—*certainly not to be used against the inhabitants*. Upper Canada had been almost entirely peopled and settled since the war com-

menced. He did not insinuate any suspicions of ^{Speech.} broils with the United States. He hoped that each country had equally made the discovery that peace was the preferable policy. Still, as a matter of political prudence, we must always provide for possible contingencies. He was firmly convinced that amongst nations weakness would never be a foundation for security. The navigation between the two countries was moreover suspended during the winter, and, in the case of a rupture, *many months might elapse ere reinforcements could be sent.* At Antigua there had been established a considerable naval arsenal, which involved the presence of an additional military force.

“The new or captured colonies were Ceylon, Mauritius, the Cape, the African Settlements, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucie, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. In all, the enemy’s garrisons there had capitulated to the number of 30,000. This was after all their losses by deaths in action and from sickness. The Government only proposed 22,000 for these colonies, not two-thirds of the garrisons that the enemy had kept up. The 25,000 men for the home station exceeded by 7,000 the numbers in 1791. But the large increase in our colonial possessions rendered it necessary to keep up a considerable increased reserve at home.

“The plain question for the House to consider was, whether they should reduce all the military establishments of the country below their just level ;

Speech.

and whether, if they did so, the saving would bear any comparison with the injury that it might produce. For, after all, even if the plans of retrenchment so loudly called for were adopted, the diminution of expenditure would not be half so great as the country and the House seemed to imagine. Would it, therefore, be a wise or expedient course, under these circumstances, to abdicate the high rank we now maintained in Europe, to take our station amongst secondary powers, and confine ourselves entirely to our own island? He would again repeat that the question was not whether we should carry into effect such diminution of the military establishments of the country as would save the people from the income-tax—for he contended that no possible reduction in those establishments could accomplish that end—but whether we should compel the Crown to abandon all our colonial possessions, the fertile sources of our commercial wealth, and descend from that high and elevated station which it had cost us so much labour, so much blood, and so much treasure to attain.”

Remarks.

A discussion no doubt was then commencing which is still going on, and which will pass through many phases during the present generation, before it is terminated by the decision of posterity. I myself remember saying, when speaking in favour of the American Union to an American audience, before the struggle for Southern independence began, that you should not ask the opinion of a healthy man as to the

value of health; it was the invalid alone who could Remarks.
estimate it. You should not ask a great and powerful state in the height of its prosperity what are the advantages of being great and powerful. It is a state that finds its greatness fallen, its power diminished or menaced, that feels the loss it has incurred, or thinks it is about to sustain. In fact, it was only when the consolidated power of the United States was in serious peril that the resolve of preserving it intact, at any sacrifice, became intense. So, there has been a tendency of late years in England amongst a certain class of politicians to underrate the advantages of vast empire and great consideration. This is natural; men, as I have just said, undervalue what they possess. Who has not seen statesmen fatigued with office and pining to lay down its burthens, and found them, after a brief repose in obscurity, willing to undergo any amount of toil and responsibility in order to reach once more that point in the political ladder from which they not unwillingly descended? It is just so with a people. What efforts has not Poland made, what efforts did not Italy make, to regain the independence and recover the glory of past but unforgotten years! The expense of dignity and influence is, however, more frequently brought before a popular assembly than their importance.

Let us admit that a great gentleman, let him be a distinguished peer or commoner, is the same individual, whether he opens his house and keeps up a

Remarks.

large establishment, or whether he lodges in a cottage and never offers a glass of wine to a friend. His ability is the same, his rank is the same, his wealth is the same, but his influence is different. A certain degree of show and hospitality gives influence,—quietly, insensibly, but irresistibly. Lord Palmerston himself, in later years, gained much by a conspicuous mansion and frequent dinners and assemblies. It is all very well to sneer at these things; they affect us in spite of our philosophy.

As three or four servants in livery and a large house place a man in this world of ours higher than he would be placed if inhabiting a small lodging with a dirty maid to open the door, so a nation has its servants in livery, its large house, its large establishments—things not absolutely necessary to its existence, but the accompaniments of its position, and without which its position would not be duly represented and sustained. I may be mistaken, but I believe every Englishman has a certain pride and interest in the figure made by the English nation. He likes that it should be “the great nation,” and appear “the great nation.” All that seven-eighths of us ask is, that the proper effect should be obtained without needless or improper cost.

No man is thought the more of for muddling away his money. He should have for his expenditure what his expenditure ought to bring him. The minister who is careless as to what he spends, and the minister who is niggardly as to what he ought to

spend, are equally acting against the instincts of our people; and they who think to acquire an honourable or durable popularity by bringing down this country from its traditional rank amongst the leading states of the world, do not know the spirit which still burns in the breasts of Englishmen. Remarks.

If, indeed, the Member of Parliament who affects to despise prestige or consideration as an object for the government of his nation, would merely look into his own mind, and examine the motives which bring him into the House of Commons and direct his conduct there, he would find that, though actuated in some degree by public and party motives, he was also in most cases influenced by an honorable desire for public distinction. It is this desire which is at the bottom of much of our individual honesty, much of our individual energy,—which is, in short, one of an Englishman's great individual characteristics, and should be one of England's great national characteristics also; for a nation which has no longer a wish for distinction has already a propensity to decline.

These were the ideas of Lord Palmerston, both for himself and for his native land. He wished to make himself one of England's leaders, and to make England the leading power in the world.

In the speech I have just quoted especial reference is made to our colonies. Every age wishes to assume to be wiser than its predecessor; and inasmuch as there was formerly a somewhat exaggerated value

Remarks.

attached to colonial possessions, without any distinct or accurate idea as to the profit to be derived from them, so there is now a supercilious and narrow-minded tendency to underrate their importance. There are many places presenting no peculiar advantage to us by their possession, but of which the loss would be exceedingly disastrous if they were in the hands of an enemy. From many, though we derive no direct revenue, we indirectly feed our national resources. The wealth of nations is frequently formed and nourished by means only perceptible in their results, as you see the vital energies of the human body maintained or restored by certain springs, the analysis of whose waters gives no indication of the nature of their powers.

An encouragement to enterprise, to navigation, to speculation produced by those colonial relations, often carries capital into particular channels through which it would not otherwise flow, and through which it circulates, enriching our distant possessions and returning to centre in our revenue at home.

Nor does wealth, though it is one of the main contributors to national greatness, alone or in itself constitute that greatness. Commercial prosperity soon vanishes when political importance departs, and no small portion of political importance depends on political prestige. When Mr. Webster says, "There is not an hour in the day in which the British drum is not beating in some region of the earth," he not only fills the minds of others with a vast idea of the

power and majesty of Great Britain, but he gives us, the British people, an elevated sense of our own dignity; animating us thereby to noble achievements, and bracing up our minds for great deeds on great occasions. Remarks.

The power of the imagination is not to be overlooked by those who assume to direct the destiny of empires; and it is singular to find so many of the gentlemen who cite to us as a model the great Transatlantic commonwealth, altogether forgetful of the imperial spirit which, since the extent of its dominions was menaced, is the peculiar characteristic of the American republic. Whilst we, talking about the United States, are daily loosening the bonds which formerly bound our empire together, the people of the United States are strengthening, enforcing, and fighting for the permanent solidity of theirs. You find no statesman there talk of abandoning a territory,—no general or admiral advocate the resignation of a fortress. The historian who in after times shall write on the decline and fall of British greatness, may possibly question the policy with which we have from year to year been separating ourselves from possessions that we might, with the advantages of steam and telegraph, have more closely connected with our central power. There is, in fact, already rising a new school of economists who, without disputing as a general axiom the advantage of buying at the cheapest markets and selling at the dearest, are still disposed to consider that under our

Remarks.

peculiar circumstances a system of colonial commerce combined with a system of emigration—relieving the mother-country from a superfluous population on the one hand, and creating new and certain customers for her on the other—maintaining the feeling of Englishman for Englishman in every quarter of the globe, by giving to our distant countrymen a regular market for their produce, and to our people at home a regular market for their manufactures—might on the whole have been more adapted to our safe and steady prosperity as well as to our united empire than a system which destroys the sentiment of national affection by referring everything to individual interest, and sends us into the world on a speculation for customers whose demands must be regulated by laws over which we have no control, and who in a free struggle for competition must force us, if we mean to surpass them, to produce better articles at cheaper labour—a necessity already resisted by trades unions and limitations on working hours, as well as by a poor law which deranges the first movements of the machinery by which the principles of free trade are to be worked out. But without dwelling further on theories which the present is not disposed to accept, and which the future—already compromised—could only, looking to the condition of things now established, achieve by such arrangements with the colonial legislatures as it may be possible to imagine, but hardly possible to realize, I pass on to observe, that the defence of our

colonies, though jealously provided for at the time Remarks.
of which I have been speaking, was not the only reason for maintaining the standing army which was asked for on their behalf. It is strange to us, who can judge the past dispassionately, to read in contemporary memoirs of the panic which existed even amongst thinking persons during the five or six years which succeeded the war, as to the probability of a general rising against law, order, and government. There were no leaders of any authority in favour of such rising; there were no funds or arms to aid it; there was nothing but the pamphlets of a few seditious writers, and the speeches of a few mob orators to threaten the peace of the country. Still, the administration and the friends of the administration had persuaded themselves, and contrived to persuade many others, that we were on the eve of a terrible catastrophe, from which nothing but a few thousand men, each of whom was furnished with a musket and a bayonet and paid a shilling a day for his patriotism, could protect us. He, then, who was for maintaining the army was the friend of the throne and the altar, of the King and of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as he who was for reducing it was in atheistic league with Cobbett and Carlile, who were menacing us with irreligion and a republic. A good speech on the Army Estimates was thus a good speech on the question which most excited the interest of the wealthy and the peaceful, and collected that interest round the

Remarks.

speaker. But it is to be observed that, though Lord Palmerston advocated officially the maintenance of a force which was thought necessary to preserve public tranquillity, he never spoke in favour of any of those measures that were adopted to suppress public liberty. One of his biographers, in an able sketch, says, "The sole link by which, in the researches of the careful student of his life, Palmerston is brought into connection with the successive suspensions of old-established liberties which distinguish this gloomy epoch of our history, is the series of speeches delivered from year to year in defence of the magnitude of those military establishments, which, as some would say, the dangerous spirit of the country, or, as others would have it, the oppressive policy of the administration, rendered necessary. He spoke no word in favour of any of the 'Six Acts.' He took no public share in the attempts to cramp the liberty of the press. His name was never identified with the attempts—by many alleged to be unconstitutional—to increase the severity of the laws against so-called sedition and libel. The yeomanry, who sabred their poor, starving fellow-countrymen at Peterloo, found in the War Secretary no apologist. Nor was his voice ever heard in justification of the odious inhumanity which employed spies to lure and incite such pitiable wretches as Thistlewood and Brandreth to the crimes which resulted in their deaths as traitors."

Narrow
escape.

The most notable event of Lord Palmerston's life at this period was his escape from being killed,

when a madman, Lieutenant Davies, shot at and slightly wounded him above the hip, on the 8th April, 1818, as he was going up the stairs at the War Office. A happy and accidental turn of his body, it is said, prevented the ball taking a fatal direction, and to this he owed the last forty-seven years of his existence, and the right to be considered one of the most distinguished of England's statesmen. In other respects he pursued undisturbed the smooth and even road of his rising career; and in referring to this period I find abundant proof of a belief I have always entertained, that but a small part of the merits of an able public man is ever seen by the public; I say this, for, after reading through the private correspondence of Lord Palmerston as Secretary at War, I feel bound to state that I have never found in any compositions of the same kind, so clear, straightforward, and simple a style, such attention to details, such comprehensive views, such regard for private and public interests, such independence of thought—for the highest authority only weighs with him where the arguments are authoritative; and I only regret that extracts from this correspondence would be of too special a kind to justify me in introducing them to the general reader.

Narrow
escape.

Remarks.

Meanwhile the Secretary at War had become perfectly at his ease in debate, and at times indulged in a certain flippant and overbearing manner, which, with the view of at once discountenancing an

Remarks.

opponent, he was occasionally tempted to employ, but never inopportunately to persist in. Thus he says on one occasion, when defending the Government from the accusation of having unconstitutionally called out the veterans :

Speech.

“He could only repeat now what he had said before, that the reasons for this increase of force were so notorious to every person in the country, that he should consider any attempt on his part to argue the necessity, *not only a waste of the time of the House, but as trifling with the public understanding.* If the justification of this measure was not sufficiently established by the events that had taken place since August last [the month of the Manchester tragedy], he was certain that no argument he could use, and no eloquence ever heard within these walls, would carry conviction with it.” But when this way of waiving the question at issue was found insufficient, and it was again brought forward, he came clearly and boldly to the direct justification of the course which the Government had thought fit to pursue.

“With respect to calling out the veterans, the noble lord [Nugent] considered it to be a violation of the Constitution. If, however, he looked back to the Constitution of this country, he would find many instances in which an augmentation of our forces had been made in time of peace, under an apprehension of approaching war, or of internal commotion. . . . Many instances had occurred in time of peace, where an augmentation of the military force had been effected,

without any bill of indemnity, or any measure of the kind mentioned by the noble lord being deemed necessary. He admitted the argument of the noble lord, that no force could be constitutionally embodied without the consent of Parliament; but that consent, he contended, had been obtained. In the speech from the throne, the intention of calling out this additional force was mentioned, and both Houses of Parliament, in their answer to the speech, plainly adverted to the circumstance. If, therefore, gentlemen conceived this proceeding to be unconstitutional, they would find it difficult to answer their country satisfactorily for having allowed so many months to elapse without having agitated the question. But not only was the circumstance mentioned in the speech from the throne, and in the address in answer to it, but a specific vote of money was agreed to for the subsistence of those troops." Speech.

The following sentences, rapidly strung together, are rather in the style of Mr. Canning. "The noble lord would ask, 'Is it necessary now to keep up this additional force?' In answer to that, he would only ask gentlemen to turn their attention to the events which had passed since the period to which he had referred. He would forbear from adverting to the conspiracy that was discovered in London. A conspiracy to destroy some hundreds of individuals, to burn different parts of the metropolis, and to create a provisional government, was, it appeared, a matter of no importance to the

Speech.

gentlemen opposite. Did not the noble lord know that special commissions were issued for the North of England, and for Scotland, to bring persons to trial for the highest crime the law of this country contemplated—the crime of high treason? Did he not know that the scenes which gave rise to these commissions took place in February and March last? Did not the noble lord know that meetings of armed men had taken place in Scotland? Was he not aware, that, in one instance, a body of these men had acted in hostility to the regular troops? Had he not seen the proclamation that was posted up in the town of Glasgow, purporting to be issued by a provisional government—the object of those signing it being, as they stated, ‘to obtain their rights by force of arms’?”

As a specimen of his lighter manner, I quote a few words by which he defends the establishment of a riding-school. “During the recent war a foreign officer had praised in the highest degree the *British cavalry*, regretting only that *they did not know how to ride!*” Nor is it amiss to cite the argument, so pregnant with British preferences, by which he advocates British education for British officers. “The effect of discontinuing this establishment” (the recently founded Military College) “would be to drive these young men to other quarters; and as they would have no means of defraying the expenses of a private education, they would probably be compelled to seek for instruction in German or

French establishments, at that critical period when Speech. the impressions they received were calculated to decide the character of the future man. He regretted he did not observe a gallant officer in his place, who seldom omitted an opportunity of deprecating the introduction of foreign officers, and every assimilation to foreign customs in our troops; for he was persuaded he would have concurred with him in the propriety of giving to our military youth the advantages of a military education. For his own part, he wished to see the British soldier with a British character, with British habits, with a British education, and with as little as possible of anything foreign."

Tormented as all ministers were by Mr. Joseph Remarks. Hume, after that gentleman had entered the House of Commons and assumed the character of financial economist, he replies much in the strain which those who saw him in his later days will remember. He says, "He recollected that he had heard of an ancient sage who said that there were two things over which even the immortal gods themselves had no power—namely, past events, and arithmetic. The honourable gentleman, however, seemed to have power over both."

This is a pleasant remark, but the merits of the speaker did not lie in making pleasant remarks, but in coming to right conclusions; and the principles which he lays down as those that ought to guide us in times of peace as to our military establishment, are no doubt those which a wise Government should

Remarks.

still follow. "Let such establishment," he says, "be economical; let it be efficient; let its organization be so framed as to enable us, in the event of war, to recruit the different regiments rapidly and cheaply."

Yet although Lord Palmerston's ability was fully acknowledged, and his public position a good one, it was an isolated one.

His private friends were never such as could be called political friends. Mr. Sullivan, his brother-in-law, and Sir George Shee, whom he made afterwards Under Secretary of State, were the only men with whom he could be said to be intimate. Neither did he belong to any of the particular sections which divided the House of Commons and the Tory party. He was not then an adherent of Canning, never having followed that statesman out of office; nor was he an adherent of Lord Eldon, nor even of Lord Liverpool, for he had voted since 1812 in favour of concessions to the Catholics. He certainly was not a Whig, and yet he lived chiefly with Whig society, which, since the time of Mr. Fox, was the society most in fashion. George IV. always disliked him. No one, therefore, had a very lively interest in him, or felt a strong desire to make his parliamentary position more important. Thus, he was offered by Lord Liverpool on one occasion the Governor-Generalship of India, and on another the Post Office, with a seat in the House of Lords;—it being intended, if he accepted, to satisfy Mr. Huskisson with his place. He stuck, however, steadily to the

House of Commons, as if foreseeing his future destiny; Remarks.
and circumstances now gave his fortunes a direction
which they ever afterwards followed.

I have observed elsewhere,* but I repeat here, that in the war which we had waged on the Continent against Napoleon, we had marched with the various nations who finally subdued him, not merely against the tyrant, but against the tyranny which he had everywhere established. The people of Germany were rallied under the cry of "liberty;" all who joined the standard of the allies thought that if victory crowned their efforts they were to live hereafter under the shelter of free institutions. The sovereigns, however, who were liberal in making promises during the contest shrunk from fulfilling them when the battle was over. Out of the disappointment which fear or duplicity created grew up a general feeling of distrust and anger. Long smouldering, it at last burst forth. In Spain and Italy there were revolutions; in the North of Germany revolutions seemed impending. In this crisis the military monarchies united in order to overthrow the constitutions that had been established, and to prevent any others from being formed. The doctrines of the sovereigns thus leagued together, and who honestly believed that their power was divine, shocked the feelings most common with the English people. We ceased for a moment to think of reform in England—our minds were fixed with

* Historical Characters.

Remarks.

disgust on despotism abroad. Lord Castlereagh, who was thought, in some degree unjustly, to sympathise with crowns and courts rather than with popular rights, was accused of lackeying the heels of a confederacy of which almost every Englishman would have grasped the throat; nevertheless he was about to proceed to Verona to take part in the congress which was to decide the fate of Spain, when his sudden death* brought Mr. Canning to the Foreign Office: and Mr. Canning at once seeing the means by which he could acquire a popularity, which he had always coveted and never yet been able to attain, undertook a task by no means easy,—that of satisfying the predominant feeling in England, which was for resisting the despotic pretensions of the great continental powers, without going to war for constitutional opinions. The extraordinary tact and skill with which he did this, appearing at times rash, but never really being so,—inspiring Englishmen with the conviction of their power, and satisfying them with regard to the principles for which it was to be exerted, rallied by degrees public opinion around him, and led most men, whose general tendencies were liberal, to look up to him as their leader. This was more especially the case with those who advocated the Catholic claims. On the other hand, the anti-Catholic party, as they saw Mr. Canning rising in power, became more jealous of those who were, or who

* On August 12, 1822.

seemed likely to be, his partisans. Under these cir-
 cumstances, Lord Palmerston, who had been returned
 for Cambridge University as a friend to Catholic
 Emancipation in 1812, 1818, 1820, again came
 forward with the same colours in 1825. Remarks.

This is what he himself says of this election :—*

“Smyth, though beat by me in 1811, had after-
 wards been elected on the death of Gibbs; and on
 the death of Smyth, in 1822, William Bankes was
 elected.† Auto-
biography.

“In November, 1825, it being generally under-
 stood that Parliament would be dissolved the next
 summer, Sir J. Copley, then Attorney-General,
 wrote to me to say that he was going to begin to
 canvass the University, with a view of turning out
 Bankes; and shortly afterwards Goulburn, who was
 Chief Secretary for Ireland, announced himself as a
 fourth candidate. Bankes, Copley, and Goulburn
 were all anti-Catholics. I was the only one of the
 four who voted for Emancipation.

“The canvass lasted from the end of November,
 1825, till the dissolution in June, 1826, and a most
 laborious task for myself and my friends it became.
 It was soon manifest that the object of certain parties

* Autobiography.

† After a contest with Lord Hervey (the late Marquis of Bristol)
 and Mr. Scarlett (the late Lord Abinger, Lord Chief Baron of the Ex-
 chequer). The numbers who actually polled were as follows:—

For Mr. Bankes . .	419
Lord Hervey . .	281
Mr. Scarlett . .	219

Auto-
biography.

was to eject me as well as Bankes, and the active influence of the anti-Catholic members of the Government was exerted in favour of Copley and Goulburn, and, therefore—as there were but two to be returned—against me.*

“The Church, the Treasury, and the Army were in anti-Catholic hands; and though the Duke of Wellington and Peel condemned the cabal, Eldon, Bathurst, the Duke of York, the Secretaries to the Treasury, and many others did all they could against me.

“I stood on my personal interest in the University, and threw myself on my political enemies, the Whigs, for support against my political friends the Tories.

“This support, which I asked on the ground of our accordance upon Catholic Emancipation, was handsomely granted, and enabled me to triumph; Copley, indeed, headed the poll, but I beat Bankes by 122, and Goulburn by 192.

“I had complained to Lord Liverpool, and the Duke of Wellington, and Canning of being attacked, in violation of the understanding upon which the Government was formed, and by which the Catholic question was to be an open one; and I told Lord

* Extract from a letter from the Right Hon. Charles W. Wynn, President of the Board of Control, to the Duke of Buckingham:—

“12 May, 1825.

“I have heard nothing lately about Lord Palmerston, but, from all accounts, his re-election for Cambridge is so doubtful (to say the best of it), that I fully expect him to withdraw from it into the Upper House.”—Duke of Buckingham’s “Court and Times of George IV.”

Liverpool that if I was beat I should quit the Government. *This was the first decided step towards a breach between me and the Tories, and they were the aggressors.** Auto-biography.

The letters that follow relate in part to this election, Remarks. but are mingled with others, singularly illustrative of the man of the world—gossiping, racing, and looking after his property. I make no apology for giving them; for, apart from the interest which they possess as affecting the private life of a man so well known to the public, I think that every occupation or amusement which has brought a statesman in contact with his fellow-men, and which has not alienated him from graver pursuits, has been useful in awakening for him sympathies and giving to him knowledge which, at the proper time, melt advantageously into his main career.

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, British Legation, Berlin.

“ Stanhope Street, July 19, 1825. Letters.

“ MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“ I send you the enclosed, which I fancy by the hand relates to some of our joint concerns.

“ Canning has had a very dangerous attack of inflammation of the bowels, but is now out of danger, though for forty-eight hours he was in a very alarming state. The Duke of St. Albans is dead, and the bets are that Mrs. Coutts will soon be duchess. Poor

* The destruction of every party begins by its more violent members driving the more moderate into union with their opponents.

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Bradshaw goes about the picture of misery and despair. I fancy Miss Tree will be off at last, and if she is wise no doubt she will, as they say she does not like him, and as a speculation the stage is a better thing. Embley is sold for 125,000*l.* to a Mr. Nightingale, some connection by marriage of King-killing Smith of Norwich. George Dawson marries Miss Seymour.* Three objections in my opinion insuperable. He has no money, and she not more than she has been accustomed to spend entirely upon her own dress and amusements. He is four inches shorter than her, and two stone lighter. The Duke of York and Duchess of — are a pattern of juvenile sentiment; it is delightful to see unsophisticated minds meeting in the mysterious luxury of a first and refined affection. Young —, who has been in attendance for the last two years, was sent staring and gaping into the country. Lady Emmeline makes no hand of Leopold.

“As to weather, we are fried alive: thermometer above 80° every day for the last week; on the leads out of my study window it stood yesterday at 93°, hanging on the wall, and completely shaded from the sun, though somewhat raised by the reflected heat from the opposite walls. Watson says that two days ago the thermometer on one of the walls in the

* The parties referred to are the Right Hon. G. Dawson Damer, M.P., brother of the late Earl of Portarlington, and the lady he married in August, 1825—Miss Seymour, daughter of Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour, and sister of the recently deceased Admiral Sir George F. Seymour.

kitchen garden stood at 130° in the sun, and at 100° Letters. in the shade on the other side of the same wall; of course the heat had got through the wall; but they say it has been 92° fairly in the shade. The wind, too, is to the eastward, and the weather likely to last. We shall have plenty of birds, but not a turnip-leaf to cover them.

“Yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

“Stanhope Street, August 5, 1825.

“MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“I have paid for you two hundred pounds, being your second instalment of ten pounds a share upon twenty shares in the Cornwall and Devon Mining Company; and I have got your shares made out in your name, and deposited in my iron chest in this room. The two hundred pounds you may pay me whenever it is convenient, and at your leisure. I also send you a power of attorney, to be executed by you, in order to enable the solicitors of the company to sign the deed of settlement for you. I am inclined to think that both this and the Welsh Slate Company will turn out profitable concerns. I have been unlucky in my racing this year as yet, my horses having been ill and lame at the moment when they were to run for stakes which, if well, they would probably have won, and which would have been worth winning. As yet I have just won within two pounds of

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the amount I have had to pay for stakes and forfeits, so that I have all my training-bills to boot ; but I hope to bring myself home yet before the end of the season.

“Fanny is gone to Powis Castle, and goes on Tuesday to Bangor, to meet Bowles, and from thence they go to Sir Watkin’s shooting-box on Bala. The Sulivans are gone for a few days to the Flemings. They are, I think, better this year than they have been for some time, especially Sullivan, who is not nearly so much pulled and harassed as he was last year, though he has had fully as much to do ; and the children are all remarkably well and evidently much benefited by living at Broom House. I am going in a fortnight to Sligo again, to see the progress of my harbour, and to settle some further improvements with Mr. Nimmo, the civil engineer whom I have employed to survey my bogs. He recommends me to lay down an iron railroad of about six miles in length, by means of which I should be enabled to bring up a shelly sand from the sea-beach to reclaim the bogs, and to carry down in return to my new harbour turf from the bogs, prepared as fuel ; and he thinks that a very considerable export-trade of this turf could be carried on with the town of Sligo and the coast beyond it. This would require a capital of between five and six thousand pounds to be immediately laid out ; but I am inclined to think it will answer, and I could get the money advanced by the commissioners in Ireland, who are

authorized by Parliament to issue Exchequer bills in aid of public works of this kind for the internal improvement of Ireland, taking repayment by annual instalments of so much per cent. added to the interest. But this matter I shall settle when on the spot. I expect to be back at Broadlands about the middle of September, and I think it possible I may take a trip to Paris later in the year. Letters.

“Yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

“Stanhope Street, August 8, 1825.

“MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“As you take an interest about my racing concerns, I send you the list of the Salisbury races last week, by which you will see that I won five races out of eight; and the cup is, luckily, an exact match to that which I won the other day at Southampton. The result of Salisbury is, however, greater in glory than in profit, as it amounts to a cup and 170*l.*, as I only got 15*l.* for Biondetta’s walking over. Conquest is a three-year old filly by Waterloo, dam by Rubens, which I took in the early part of the year from Tattersall, in exchange for my brood-mare Mignonet. Day thought ill of her; but she has turned out tolerably well, as she beat ‘Black and all black’ in a canter; but she had, according to the conditions of the race, a great advantage in weight, in consequence of her age and of her competitor having won this

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year, of which she had been guiltless till that day. Grey Leg turns out very well. He won the Coronation Stakes at Stockbridge, value 39*l.*, the cup at Southampton, and a 25*l.* stake, and the cup at Salisbury. He would have done more if he had not had the distemper just as he was to have run at Bath and Cheltenham for good stakes; but in a trial with Lugberough, giving weight for age, he was found to be as good as Lugberough. Our weather has been finer than yours, for, till last week, we have had an uninterrupted course of hot and dry weather for a long time. For the last week it has been windy and rainy, but still not cold.

“Yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

“Stanhope Street, Dec. 2, 1825.

“MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“It is so long since I have written to you that I really almost forget when it was, and you have been so excellent a correspondent that my silence is the more unpardonable. I received the other day the very pretty little bronzes you sent me, which do credit to the Prussian artists. They have really contrived to give a sharpness and fineness of execution to their iron of which one hardly supposed that metal to be susceptible. I safely delivered all your other packets, which were greatly approved by their respective receivers.

"I am just setting off for Cambridge, where I am Letters.
obliged to begin a canvass, as the Attorney-General and Goulburn have both declared themselves candidates for the general election. It is rather a bore to have to go through the labour of a canvass so long before the time; but this is just a time of year when I have more leisure to attend to it, and I shall not be sorry to get the matter over. I do not feel much apprehension as to the result, because I think I am sure of a great many Protestants, from a coincidence of opinion on other questions; and of many Whigs, from an agreement on the Catholic question. Indeed, if there is no Whig candidate, I should expect to have all the Whig interest at Cambridge. I believe I gave you a report of my Irish journey, which was very prosperous and satisfactory. I found the general aspect of affairs in that country rapidly improving. I had Nimmo, the engineer, with me for ten days in Sligo; and we made arrangements for carrying into effect divers operations, which I trust will materially improve my property in the course of a few years. From Ireland, after passing a day at Powis Castle, I struck across to Yorkshire, where I also was well satisfied with the state of my Fairburn property. I shall soon bring my lime-works into play, and have some chance of finding coal. I have lately been for a week at Brighton, which is really increasing in the most extraordinary manner. There literally are as many lodging-houses in different stages of progress as there are completed and occu-

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pied. Where they are to find inhabitants for them all I do not understand; but it may fairly be said that by next summer the accommodation of the place will be nearly twice what it was last summer, and all the new houses are upon a grand style of architectural decoration.

“What a sad thing the death of the poor Duchess of Rutland is! It was caused by an internal inflammation. She had an attack of the same kind two years ago, and it was subdued only by the most energetic means immediately resorted to. Probably in this case the country practitioners were afraid of doing as much as a London one would have done; but Halford, who was sent for, stated himself to have very little hopes from the moment he first heard of the attack.

“There is a call for ten pounds a share upon the Welsh Slate Company. I shall pay the instalment upon your twenty shares, and you can repay me afterwards. I saw our quarry as I returned from Ireland, and found it a remarkably fine one, and I think the undertaking likely to answer well.* All we want is a railroad to the sea, as at present the slates are sent twelve miles along an infamously bad road; but some other slate owners, whose quarries

* These slate mines proved a happy speculation. In a moment of panic many of the shareholders withdrew. Lord Palmerston, as a Director of the Company that conducted them, felt bound to remain, and he took the shares of all his friends who wished to retire. The ultimate success of the undertaking was complete, and his foresight and perseverance were rewarded.

are near ours, are equally interested in this, and a Letters. survey has been made of a line for a railway, and in the course of this next year it is probable that such a road will be made.

“I have just agreed with Breton for the purchase of his estate at Ashfield. I give him 12,000*l.* for it, which is fully 1000*l.* more than it can by possibility be worth to anybody else; but from local contiguity it is so desirable to me that I think the money well laid out. I trust it will enable me to turn the road, and extend the park to the canal, unless I find greater difficulties in dealing with Fletcher than I expect; but as Fletcher’s estate is tied up by entail, and cannot be sold during his lifetime, he cannot have much interest in making unnecessary objections. If it was a saleable estate he would refuse every accommodation in order to compel me to give him a large price for it.

“We have had quantities of partridges this year; but as I returned late from Ireland they were wild as hawks. I hear a good account of the pheasants, but have not as yet broke cover.

“Adieu! my dear William. I will let you know the result of my canvass.

“Ever yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

To Laurence Sullivan, Esq., War Office.

Letters.

“ Stanhope Street, Dec. 2, 1825.

“ MY DEAR SULLIVAN,

“ Read the enclosed,* and send it me down to Cambridge by the post, with any remarks that occur to you. I feel that I must make some allusion to the Catholic question, or I should appear to shrink from it, and that I must avow my conviction that I am right, without putting it forward in a manner that would be offensive to those who disagree with me; and that while I ought to state that I do not fear an examination of my public conduct, I must not place my expectation of support upon the result of that examination being with every voter a perfect concurrence of sentiment.

“ Yours affectionately,

“ PALMERSTON.”

To Laurence Sullivan, Esq., War Office.

“ Cambridge, Dec. 4, 1825.

“ MY DEAR SULLIVAN,

“ Thank you for your amendments. I am going on as well as I could expect—in fact, as well as possible; I think I shall have all the Johnians and most of the Trinity men. The Protestants will support me as a Tory, and the Whigs as a Catholic. That is if no Whig candidate starts, for that was the

* His address to his constituents.

qualification with which Smyth of Peterhouse ten- Letters. dered me his vote before I could ask it. The small Collèges I have not yet gone into, for I attacked St. John's and Trinity first; and I do not hurry, but let every man talk his fill, and many have much to say about the Catholic question, and I encourage them to open their minds and state all their objections, because it gives me an opportunity of explaining my views, which are more rational than some of them fancy; and of suggesting answers to some of their arguments, which may give them matter for reflection; and a man who has been used to hear certain positions echoed about as self-evident among a small knot of his friends, is sometimes surprised to find how much may be said on the other side. The greatest number of those I have spoken to do not promise, saying they wish to keep themselves disengaged, but generally accompanying this with expressions of personal goodwill, and an admission of a certain degree of claim on the part of an old member. Banks has certainly lost ground very much, and I doubt his being returned. Copley is unpopular with the Whigs, and there is a general feeling that his canvass is premature—some think it especially so, considering that he would probably succeed to the Chief Justiceship if vacant. Goulburn has not been much talked of; but the Master of Trinity told me to-day he had heard from him, and that he means to stand. He and Copley cannot both go to a poll, as they would clash in all points,

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college, politics, and Protestantism. Copley is coming down immediately, and is to form a committee. I am collecting a nominal one, in order to have people engaged; but it is useless to go through all the manual exercise of a contest now, unless, at least, one is driven to it by the measures of one's competitors. Bankes has not yet appeared, but will probably soon be here. The Trinity men are likely to throw him over. People are all extremely civil, and I have not yet had one refusal, though I expect one from Webb of Clare, who is the Dragon of Wantley of the Protestants. I cannot yet say how long I shall stay here, but I shall not leave this till I have seen every man.* Bankes, I have just heard, will be here to-night. Wood says he thinks I am secure.

“Yours affectionately,
“PALMERSTON.”

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

“Stanhope Street, June 5, 1826.

“MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“I have been a horrid bad correspondent for some time past; but I have been overwhelmed with business, including my canvass, which for the last six months has hung upon me like a nightmare, filling up every interval which anything else allowed to exist. Next week will decide the matter. The

* This is the way people win: by taking pains.

election begins on Tuesday 13th, and lasts till Letters. Thursday 15th, inclusive. I think I shall succeed if I can prevail upon people to come up, which I hope to do. My own opinion is that Copley will be first, I next, Bankes third, and Goulburn fourth.* The latter certainly goes to the poll, which is a great advantage to me. If I was to guess numbers, I should say it would be Copley and I something about 650 each, Bankes from 600 to a few more, and Goulburn about 500; but I know nothing about their numbers, and may overstate them. The Whigs have behaved most handsomely to me; they have given me cordial and hearty support, and, in fact, bring me in. Liverpool has acted as he always does to a friend in personal questions,—shabbily, timidly, and ill. *If I am beat, I have told him he must find another Secretary at War, for I certainly will not continue in office.*

“I send you the Foreign Enlistment Act, by which you will see that your friend would be guilty of a misdemeanour if he entered a foreign service without leave from the King of England.

“My dear William,

“Yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

* This opinion proved correct.

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

Letters.

“ Stanhope Street, July 17, 1826.

“ MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“ Many thanks for your letters and congratulations, and many apologies for my apparent remissness as to writing, but I really have been so much occupied for the last six months by my Cambridge canvass, that it threw me into an arrear of every other business, public and private, which I am only now beginning to work down. I have within the last five minutes finished working up my War Office arrears, and am even with the papers of this very day, and I turn accordingly to write you a few lines.*

“ The result of my contest was most gratifying, and beyond my expectations; I knew my own strength, but not that of my opponents. I had obtained just before the poll began about 700 promises; the total number of voters was 1800, of whom perhaps 1300 might be expected to vote. This would give 2,600 votes, supposing each man voted for two candidates; and supposing that 200 people gave plumpers, it would leave 2,400 votes, which, between four candidates, would be 600 apiece. It was clear, therefore, that the winning candidates must have more than 600 each at the poll; I knew

* N.B.—Every one must be struck with the kind and affectionate feeling which this correspondence manifests, as well as with the writer's conscientious attention to business.

that out of my 700 promises a great number would, Letters. from various causes, not be present. I reckoned my casualties at 100 ; this would leave me 600 polled votes, and this would barely do. I knew, however, that Copley was strong, and would probably poll more than his 600, and that would leave the numbers to be divided among the other three candidates less ; so that it would not give 600 each ; and if, therefore, I polled 600 I might win. But then Bankes' friends were most confident in their boasting, and I did not know what their real numbers were. Again, Goulburn's friends might leave him, even though he should not resign—and, in fact, some did—in order to go into Bankes' scale, and to turn me out. All these various possibilities and contingencies made me feel the result might be extremely doubtful ; and on the day of the dissolution I wrote to Liverpool to tell him that I thought it fair to give him notice then, that if I should fail at Cambridge, I should be unable to continue my connection with a Government under which and by which such a result would have been brought about. Liverpool wrote me a civil answer, begging me not to come to any decision in the event of failure without communication with him, and so the matter rested ; but if I had been beat I should most indubitably have immediately quitted the Government. In fact, as it is I feel that I have been dealt with by them in a way in which, probably, no official man ever was before. The first two days of our polling I kept

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back everybody who had not some particular reason for wishing to vote early—such as wanting to go away, or wishing to give me a plumper, and to avoid being plagued by other candidates. Bankes, on the other hand, was urging his friends up as fast as he could, in order to get ahead of Goulburn, in order that the anti-Catholics might think him the most likely of the two to beat me, and might throw their weight into his scale. When I found on Wednesday evening that, running this sort of race, I was still ahead of him, I began to think myself pretty sure of victory; but even to the last I did not venture to hope for so large a majority. The number of my majority is most satisfactory, because it makes me feel pretty secure as to the future, and because, also, many of the anti-Catholics who voted for me from personal regard or college feeling, and who would perhaps have regretted their sacrifice of opinion if we had been beat, or had won by a small number, are now carried away by the pride of triumph by becoming parties in so decided a success. One advantage at Cambridge will be, that party feeling on the Catholic question must abate; for all the Johnians who supported me cannot hold now on this subject the violent language which they formerly did. The Whigs supported me most handsomely, and were indeed my chief and most active friends; and to them and the Johnians I owe my triumph over the No Popery faction behind the Government, if not in it. I think the question has gained by the

general election. In the first place, in numerical strength I am inclined to believe that it will be found that we have rather increased upon the anti-Catholics; but the grand point is, that the No Popery cry has been tried in many places and has everywhere failed; and we may now appeal to the experience of facts to show that there does *not* exist among the people of England that bigoted prejudice on this point which the anti-Catholics accused them of entertaining. The breaking loose of the Irish tenantry from their landlords, too, is a very important advantage. In the first place, it will make the representation of Ireland almost entirely *for* the question; and then it will teach the landlords the folly of splitting their estates into forty-shilling freeholds, and lead them to adopt a system of management more advantageous to themselves and to the progress of society in Ireland.

“As to the commonplace balance between Opposition and Government, the election will have little effect upon it. The Government are as strong as any Government can wish to be, as far as regards those who sit facing them; but in truth the real opposition of the present day sit behind the Treasury Bench; and it is by the stupid old Tory party, who bawl out the memory and praises of Pitt while they are opposing all the measures and principles which he held most important; it is by these that the progress of the Government in every improvement which they are attempting is thwarted and impeded. On

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the Catholic question; on the principles of commerce; on the corn laws; on the settlement of the currency; on the laws regulating the trade in money; on colonial slavery; on the game laws, which are intimately connected with the moral habits of the people: on all these questions, and everything like them, the Government find support from the Whigs and resistance from their self-denominated friends. However, the young squires are more liberal than the old ones, and we must hope that Heaven will protect us from our friends, as it has done from our enemies. The next session will be interesting. All these questions will come under a new Parliament, in which there are about 150 new members.

“I have started most prosperously with my racing concerns. I have four horses this year—Lugberough, Grey Leg, and a mare now four-year old, which I got last year, and call Conquest, as she is by Waterloo out of a mare by Rubens, and my fourth is a three-year old colt I call Foxbury, bred by myself, got by Whalebone out of Mignonet, the large Sorcerer mare, which you must remember, and which I bred also, and have had some time. Last year my horses were ill a great part of the season; and though I won several races I had to pay forfeits for many which were the best worth having, because my horses could not start.

“I ran for the first time this year the other day, at Bath. Lugberough won the Bath Stakes—a very

good stake—beating several good horses. Conquest Letters. won a race also, value £110, beating also some tolerable nags; and Foxbury won one race, and lost a second only because he swerved from the course—the boy, probably, not knowing just how to manage him. I thus won three out of four. Foxbury is to run to-day at Wells, and I think may win; and Lugberough is to run at Cheltenham next week for a race which will be worth £700 probably, and is favourite for it among the bettors, his most formidable rival being Shakespear, who was second for the Derby, but with respect to whom, age considered, Lugberough has the advantage.* I shall let you know how I go on, but I hope to make a brilliant campaign of it. I have just been to Broadlands for a couple of days, chiefly to settle to buy the Methodist chapel in Banning Street for a national school. We had raised a subscription to build a school, and had laid the foundations, but this chapel will answer our purpose excellently, and save us some money.

“ Adieu, my dear William,

“ Yours affectionately,

“ PALMERSTON.

“ The Bowles set off this morning on their tour of inspection round the southern and western coasts.

“ Clanwilliam departed suddenly for Paris.”

* N.B.—There is no betting in all this. Nothing but the love of horses and sport, and the idea that his expenses might probably be repaid him by his stables.

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

Letters.

“Londonderry, Oct. 21, 1826.

“MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“It is a long time since I last wrote to you ; I have been busily employed or actively moving about in Ireland. I left London just this day month, the 21st of Sept., stayed only a few hours in Dublin, and went on to Shee’s at Dunmore, in Galway, where I remained two days. I found him very busy, very comfortable, and very happy ; getting his estate into order, increasing his income, and improving the system of his tenantry. From thence I went on to Sligo, where I remained eighteen days, the greater part of the time at Cliffony, with Nimmo the engineer, looking over the progress of my improvements and planning arrangements for the future. My harbour is nearly completed, and will be an excellent one for my purposes : it will be about one and a quarter English acres in extent, and will have fourteen feet water at high spring tides—enough depth to admit vessels of 300 tons, and as much as any harbour on the west coast of Ireland, and it has an excellent anchorage in front of it, where ships may wait the tide to enter. I have no doubt that in a short time it will be much frequented by the coasting trade ; and if I can get people—which Nimmo thinks probable—to lay down a railroad to it from the end of Loch Erne, a distance of fourteen English miles, it would become the exporting and importing harbour for a large tract

of very fertile country lying on the banks of that Letters. lake, and would communicate with an inland navigation of nearly forty miles in extent. This speculation, however, I shall leave to others, and only profit by it if they undertake it; in the mean time it will give much scope to the industry of my tenants. I have begun cultivating my bogs, of which I have about two thousand Irish acres: I have got thirty acres now producing potatoes, turnips, and rape, which in March last were wet unwalkable bog. The process was first to drain them slightly, which was begun in April; then to dig up the surface and pile it in heaps and burn it; then to level the ground; and form it into ridges and plant it with potatoes, or sow it with turnips and rape, throwing the ashes on as manure, and adding a top-dressing of sea-sand and clay; as far as I am able to calculate at present this is likely to answer extremely well. It seems probable that in the fourth year after an acre of bog has been thus taken into cultivation it may be let on lease at a rent of from twenty to thirty shillings; and that, setting on the one hand all the expense incurred upon the acre in the four years, and on the other all the profit made by selling the crops which it will have produced, and which will consist of potatoes, turnip, or rape the first year, oats the second and third, and hay the fourth, the permanent outlay at the time it is so let cannot exceed 8*l.*, and may possibly fall short of that sum, so that a proprietor may in this manner make 12 per cent. at least upon his money, while he

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gives employment to his tenantry, and provides the means of enlarging their holdings and improving their condition. I do not expect to be able to accomplish more than about sixty acres a year, and at that rate I shall have scope enough for a tolerable number of years to come. I have, however, begun upon my worst bog, and that which was the most troublesome to cultivate, so that my future progress will be more rapid and less expensive. I have been planting bent upon a great tract of blowing sand, and I think with success. I have about 600 acres of that description on the coast, and this year I planted bent on about 140 acres, which only cost me 50*l*. The bent was taken up from parts where it grows in clusters, and planted closely in rows fourteen feet apart; it is almost all growing, and I see that in another year it will very much stop the sand, and I have no doubt that by extending my plantation I shall succeed in covering the greater part of the six hundred acres with green bent, and when that has stopped the blowing of the sand it soon gives way to grass, but it is itself very good food for cattle. I have established an infant linen market at Cliffony, held once a month, and have no doubt of its prospering and increasing. I have just got two schools on foot, but am at war with my priest, who as usual forbids the people to send their children. I know that if I was resident I should beat him in a moment, and I hope to do so, even though an absentee. I am getting the people to build some houses according to a plan of village which Nimmo

and I have laid out; and as a proof that my tenants Letters. and I are not upon very bad terms, I found when I arrived there the other day that one fellow was building a good house two stories high, and to have a slated roof, and which when finished will not cost him less than 150*l.*, upon a piece of ground of which he has no lease, and of which he is merely tenant at will. Of course, my friend Timon—not of Athens, but of Cliffony—will have his building lease, and as an encouragement I have promised to give him the cost of his slates. I have established a lime kiln at the foot of a mountain where I can make lime at 6*d.* a barrel, which sells in the neighbourhood for 1*s.* a barrel, and by contenting myself with a profit of 4*d.* I can undersell the others and supply the people with an article of great importance to them both for the improvement of their land and the cleanliness of their houses. In the whole, I find a considerable improvement going on in the country, and I trust its progress will be accelerated by the operations I am carrying on. But I have a great mind when I go to Cambridge at Christmas to see if I cannot find some zealous Simeonite who would curb the ardent enthusiasm which would impel him to the banks of the Ganges, and might content himself with winning his Jerusalem spurs by a campaign in the parish of Ahamlish. My own opinion is that a very great deal might be effected by a well-informed man who would talk to the people, and especially by an Englishman, and that even if he did not make Protestants of them, he might

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make them Christians. They really are a good and simple-minded people, though they quarrel among each other without end or reason, and get most joyously drunk whenever they lose a relation or friend.

“ I went from Sligo to Lord Belmore’s, near Enniskillen, a palace called Castle Coole, built by Wyatt, and faced with Portland stone, very large and handsome. I am going from hence by the Giant’s Causeway and Belfast to Dublin, and from thence back to London for the meeting of Parliament. Ireland has been much better off than England as to its crops. The potatoes are beyond example abundant, the wheat very fine, and the oats and barley not nearly so bad as in England, and the hay a fair crop on the western coast, though scanty on the eastern.

“ The Catholic and Anti-Catholic war is, however, carried on more vigorously than ever, and the whole people are by the ears, like an undisciplined pack of hounds. It is most marvellous, to be sure, that sensible statesmen should be frightened by the bugbear of foreign interference clashing with domestic allegiance, and should see with calmness and apathy a civil war raging throughout Ireland, engrossing all the thoughts and passions of the people, diverting them from the pursuits of industry, and retarding the progress of national prosperity, and menacing, in the event of foreign hostilities, inconveniences of the most formidable and embarrassing description. I can forgive old women like the Chancellor, spoonies like Liverpool,

ignoramus like Westmoreland, old stumped-up Letters.
Tories like Bathurst; but how such a man as Peel, liberal, enlightened, and fresh minded, should find himself running in such a pack is hardly intelligible. I think he must in his heart regret those early pledges and youthful prejudices which have committed him to opinions so different from the comprehensive and statesmanlike views which he takes of public affairs. *But the day is fast approaching, as it seems to me, when this matter will be settled as it must be;* and in spite of the orgies in this town and Armagh, the eloquence of Sir George Hill and Lord G. Beresford, and the bumpers pledged to the ‘Prentice Boys’ motto of ‘*No surrender,*’ the days of Protestant ascendancy I think are numbered. It is strange that in this enlightened age and enlightened country people should be still debating whether it is wise to convert four or five millions of men from enemies to friends, and whether it is *safe* to give peace to Ireland.

“Adieu, my dear William,

“Yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

BOOK IV.

Mr. Canning Prime Minister, and Palmerston offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer—Enters the Cabinet finally as Minister of War—Canning dies—Lord Goderich Prime Minister—Palmerston again offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, which the King, however, secures for Herries—Saying of Lord Anglesey—Lord Goderich succeeded by the Duke of Wellington.

Remarks.

It will be seen from preceding quotations that the partizans of Mr. Canning and those of Lord Eldon were become two factions in Lord Liverpool's Government; that Lord Palmerston had taken his place with the former, and that only an event was necessary to range under hostile standards persons who were already of opposite opinions.

That event came on the death of Lord Liverpool and the necessity of choosing his successor. The successor, as we know, was Mr. Canning. His ascent to the Premiership is, no doubt, one of the great events of our later history. It broke down for ever the "resistant," or, as it was then termed, "Protestant" party which—under the protection of George III.—had held the greatest share of political power since the deaths of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt,

and brought forward a Liberal party of various colours, in which, after the change in our constitution which took place in 1832, the democratic hue has become gradually more and more predominant. Remarks.

Lord Palmerston naturally became elevated in this new change. Mr. Canning had, in the first instance, to form his Administration within a very small circle. A large division of the Tories had deserted him. It was necessary that some little time should elapse before he could form an open coalition with the Whigs. The Secretary at War was therefore at once summoned to the Cabinet, and his reputation as a man of business suggested the idea of making him Chancellor of the Exchequer. But, on the other hand, Mr. Canning shrewdly foresaw that his present condition could not last long, and that before the ensuing session he must join those as friends whom he had so long faced as opponents. He was not indisposed, therefore, as the necessity of this junction became more and more apparent from the bitterness of his former associates becoming more and more intense, to have as many high offices as possible to dispose of, and he made, though in a very friendly way, two or three offers to Lord Palmerston, which, if accepted, would have removed him from England.

Lord Palmerston thus records these offers.*

“In February, 1827, Lord Liverpool was taken ill; and in April of that year Mr. Canning was declared Minister, and commanded to form a Government. Auto-
biography.

* Autobiography.

Auto-
biography.

Upon this the Tories retired in a body. Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, Peel, Lord Bathurst, Lord Westmoreland, Lord Melville, Lord Bexley (who, however, retracted), Wallace, Beckett, Wetherell, Duke of Dorset, Duke of Montrose, Lord Londonderry, all sent in their resignations, leaving Canning 'alone in his glory.' Canning had, some little time before, desired me not to leave town for Easter without letting him know; and upon this break-up he sent for me, to offer me a seat in the Cabinet and the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. He said he wished to keep the Foreign Office as Prime Minister, instead of being First Lord of the Treasury; but he found that there were official attributes attached to the First Lord of the Treasury which rendered it necessary that the Prime Minister should be First Lord; that he wished, however, to have a separate Chancellor of the Exchequer, to relieve him both in the Treasury Office and in the House of Commons, and to leave him more leisure for general matters, and should be glad to have my assistance.

"I accepted both offers.

"Canning gave a great dinner at his house at the Foreign Office just before the recess; and after dinner he proposed to me to take immediately the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order that I might be re-elected during the holidays, and be ready to start again as soon as the House met. Croker, who had *not* resigned, but who remained in office, and who was standing by, artfully

suggested that there was going to be a contest at Cambridge between Goulburn and Bankes, for the seat vacated by Copley—made Chancellor and created Lord Lyndhurst—and strongly advised me to wait, in order that I might not incur the danger of being mixed up with that contest; saying that, by the usual courtesy of the University, I should have no contest if I vacated upon changing office, but might be in danger if I ran my head into a battle begun by other people. Canning said that I must take the Exchequer *then*, or else wait till the end of the session, as it would not be convenient that I should be out of Parliament for a fortnight during the session. It was then agreed that I should remain Secretary at War till the end of the session, when I should go to the Exchequer.

“In the meanwhile intrigues were set on foot. George IV., who personally hated me, did not fancy me as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He wanted to have Herries in that office. There were questions coming on about palaces and crown lands which the King was very anxious about, and he wished either to have a creature of his own at the Exchequer, or to have the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer held by the First Lord, whose numerous occupations would compel him to leave details very much to George Harrison, the Secretary, and to Herries, Auditor of the Civil List.*

“Towards the end, or rather about the middle, of

* And also Joint Secretary of the Treasury.

Auto-
biography.

the session, Canning sent for me, and, evidently much embarrassed, said that he wished to speak to me about the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. That it had been arranged that I was to have it, and he had at that time much wished that I should; but that since then it had been strongly pressed upon him by all the financial department that it was extremely important that the First Lord should also be Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that the union of the two offices in the person of the Prime Minister, when that minister was in the House of Commons, was attended with great official convenience; and the result, he said, was, that he felt himself unable to carry our intended arrangement into effect.

“Having finished his statement he walked to the other end of the room, like a man who wishes to hide from another the emotions of embarrassment which for a moment were shown upon the countenance. I was a little surprised, and saw that there was something behind which he did not choose to tell. I said that my only wish was to be useful to his Government, and that I had no selfish objects in view; that if he thought it better for the public service that I should remain as I was, I was perfectly contented to do so; that, moreover, as the office of Commander-in-Chief had been vacant since the death of the Duke of York in January, and as I was administering the discipline and patronage of the army by virtue of my office of Secretary at War, I might

well, for the present at least, be satisfied with the importance of my functions. Auto-
biography.

“Canning seemed much relieved by the manner in which I took his communication, admitted the justness of my last remark, and said that he would take care that when my double functions ceased, by the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief, some arrangement should be made that would be satisfactory to me.

“I told him that I thought there ought to be a military man as Commander-in-Chief; but that he should well consider who that man should be, as he had the power of doing much mischief, military and political, as well as good.

“Some weeks after this Canning sent for me again, to say he had a proposition to make to me which he should not himself have thought of, but that the King had said he knew, and was sure, that it was just the very thing I should like, and that was to go as Governor to Jamaica. I laughed so heartily that I observed Canning looked quite put out, and I was obliged to grow serious again.

“Not long afterwards he again sent for me, and said he had an offer to make which might be more worth my consideration, and in making which he had only one difficulty, and that was lest I should think he wanted to get rid of me, which he could very sincerely assure me was far from being the case. The offer was the Governor-Generalship of India.

“I thanked him very kindly for his offer, assured

Auto-
biography.

him I was not insensible to the splendour of the post which he was now proposing. That I felt what means it afforded for increasing one's fortune, for gratifying one's love of power, for affording a scope for doing good upon a magnificent theatre of action ; but my ambition was satisfied with my position at home. I happened not to have a family for whom I should be desirous of providing, and my health would not stand the climate of India. I had already, I said, declined the office when offered me by Lord Liverpool, at a time when I was not in the Cabinet, and the same motives which influenced me then still operated now."

The following letters tend to complete the sketch thus rapidly drawn :

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

Letters.

"Stanhope Street, April 19, 1827.

"MY DEAR WILLIAM,

"You must have been surprised, like the rest of the world, at all the resignations of last week. Peel's was expected by Canning, as he had all along explained that, from his peculiar connection with Oxford, he should think himself obliged to go out if a Catholic were head of the Government;* but the others were unexpected, and generally without a public ground. Westmoreland, indeed, stated fairly that he could not serve under a Catholic chief; the Duke of Wellington gives out that he went because

* This is not an unimportant fact in judging the conduct of this statesman at the critical period we are treating of.

Canning's letters were uncivil; Melville, because the Letters.
Duke persuaded him, and told him that if he did not go now he would be turned out six months hence; Bathurst, because his colleagues went; Bexley, that he might have the pleasure of coming back again. *Peel is a great loss; but he parts with undiminished cordiality, and one understands and respects his motive.* The Duke is a great loss in the Cabinet, but in the command of the army an irreparable one; and it is the more provoking that he should have resigned this office, because it is not a political office; and he felt this so strongly that when it became a question, three months ago, on what footing he should hold it, he declared himself perfectly ready to quit the Cabinet if it was thought not tenable with that situation. The King is very angry with him, and wrote a short and equivocal answer to his letter of resignation, simply saying he received it 'with the *same* regret with which the Duke *appeared* to have sent it.' I take it that this was worked about by Eldon, and no doubt he thought it his master-stroke. In the mean time, however, I am glad to find that nobody else is to be appointed. The situation will be left vacant, and the duties done as in the late interregnum; and when arrangements for the new Government have been made, and personal feelings on both sides have cooled, I have no doubt the Duke will return to his command. The appointment of Clarence to the navy has given great satisfaction to that service, and is certainly a wise measure. The Heir Pre-

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sumptive cannot be always quite passive, and it is useful to bring him into action by placing him in official communication with the King, and by giving them, as it were, a community of interest, prevent the Heir from being drawn into cabals and intrigues. The present state of things is, that the King has placed everything at Canning's disposal, stating that he wishes the Government to contain as many Protestants as possible, but that if none can be found he will be satisfied with an entirely Catholic list.* Canning is at present First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Granville Foreign Affairs, but retaining his embassy, to which he will ultimately return, as Canning will remain Foreign Secretary, having taken the other situation only for the moment, and till final arrangements are made. Robinson is Colonial Secretary. The Home Office is not filled; the King particularly wishes to have a Protestant there, but it is not easy to find one fit for it. Harrowby remains as he is, and, I believe, Huskisson, also. The Privy Seal has, they say, been declined by Dudley, who probably learnt that he was meant to hold it only ad interim. Copley is Chancellor as Lord Ashbourne.† I suspect that Leach will go Chancellor to Ireland, and Plunkett be Master of the Rolls here; but this I know not for certain. I am to be Chancellor of the Exchequer; but as

* By "Protestants" are meant, of course, those opposed to Catholic Emancipation; and by "Catholics" those in favour of it.

† All these are merely the arrangements first contemplated.

Copley's move makes an immediate vacancy at Cambridge, and a contest will thereupon ensue, it is postponed, in order that my re-election may not involve me in this contest; and as it might be inconvenient to have me out of Parliament during the session, it is probable that I shall not be moved till the session is over; but in the mean time I am to be put immediately into the Cabinet. Among other considerations which make me glad of this, one of the chief is, that I trust it will give me better means than I have hitherto possessed of assisting you in your diplomatic advancement. Canning has all along received from the Whigs assurances of their support in the event of his forming a Government of which he should be the head, even though he made no stipulation on the Catholic question, because they are wise enough to know that in the present state of the King's opinion, no Government can be formed upon the principle of carrying that question as a Cabinet measure, and the next best thing is to secure the influence of Government in the hands of men favourable to the question. My own opinion, however, is that some of them ought to be brought into office—Lansdowne and Holland, perhaps, in the Lords, and Abercromby and Tierney in the Commons—and I should not be surprised if this were to happen. The Government would then be very strong; and without some such arrangement its chief reliance must be upon a party upon whom we shall have no hold, and who may throw us over at

Letters.

any moment of caprice or cabal. For as to the Tories, who would hardly vote for our measures before, we must not look for any cordial support from them now. Not but that, by degrees and one by one, they will all by instinct come round to the oat-sieve; I know, however, that Canning means to deal out that sieve very sparingly, and to found his Government upon public opinion rather than borough interests, *in which I think he is as right as possible.*

“Adieu! my dear William. I am just going down to Broadlands for a few days, and will write again when I return next week.

“Yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.

“Do not mention to anybody the assurance of support from the Whigs which Canning has received, nor my intended appointment as Chancellor of Exchequer, unless you hear it from other quarters.”

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

“Stanhope Street, May 4, 1827.

“MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“All arrangements are now settled, at least as to general principle. The Whigs join us in a body and with zeal, and some of them will come into office immediately. Those, namely, who are not to be in the Cabinet—Tierney, I believe, Master of the Mint; Calcraft, Woods and Forests; and Abercromby, Judge Advocate; William Lamb is Secretary for Ireland, not as a Whig, but on his own account as an in-

dividual. The provisional members of the Cabinet ^{Letters.} are the Duke of Portland, Privy Seal; Dudley, Foreign Affairs; and Bourne, Home Office; who is to succeed them, I do not know, but at the end of the session Lord Lansdowne will come in, and I suppose some others of his party. I should think Lansdowne would be Home Secretary, and Lord Holland Privy Seal, and then Canning will probably resume the Foreign Office, if arrangements can be made by which all the patronage and influence properly belonging to the situation of First Minister can be attached to that appointment; in that case the First Lordship of the Treasury will also be disposable. I am in the Cabinet, but continue Secretary at War till the end of the session, having in addition to my own duties those of the Commander-in-Chief to perform. This is the natural constitution of my office, that in the absence of a Commander-in-Chief the patronage of the army devolves on the Secretary at War. At the end of the session I shall be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and then, in my opinion, some military man ought to be placed in the command of the army; and if the Duke of Wellington cannot be brought back again, some general officer high up in the list ought to be placed upon the staff. The advantage of the present arrangement is, that it leaves the door open for the Duke of Wellington's return when the other arrangements are made, without dispossessing any individual. You will see by the debates that the Whigs have joined us manfully and in earnest, and have boldly

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faced all charges of inconsistency, declaring that they know it to be impossible that the Catholic question should be made a Cabinet measure, and do not join us upon any such expectation, but simply because they see as well as Peel that the having Canning at the head of the Government must of itself necessarily give a great advantage to the question; and because they agree with him on almost all other great questions of foreign and domestic policy; and because, if they did not support him, he could not, by reason of the defection of his colleagues, maintain his position. Nothing can be more satisfactory to Canning than the footing on which their accession is placed; he gives up no opinion either on parliamentary reform or any other question, and distinctly said so last night in the House. They make him a compliment of most of the questions on which they differ with him. He, in the first place, makes his Government and carries it through the session, and they come in as joining a Government already formed, and not as original ingredients in its composition.

“The Tories are furious at this junction, because they see that it puts the Government out of their power, and excludes them from a return. Peel parted good friends with Canning, but it is easy to foresee that their lines of march must daily diverge, and yesterday showed a good deal more personal opinion between them than might have been looked for. Indeed, Peel’s speech two nights before was

rather of a hostile complexion. His reference to *Letters*. Canning's correspondence in 1812 was needless; and such a reference, where not necessary, is always more or less personal. If Canning had blamed Peel for retiring, then Peel would naturally have defended himself by referring to Canning's former course; but as Canning had, on the contrary, gone out of his way to acquit Peel of blame or any want of perfect candour, the reference could only be looked upon as unfriendly.

"The Duke is, I think, very sorry now that he gave up the army, and I am sure he was worked upon to do it by the old Chancellor; the King, however, is very angry with him for it, and return at present is impossible.

"Adieu! yours affectionately,
"PALMERSTON."

Poor Canning enjoyed but a short time, as *we Remarks*. know, the brilliant triumph of his genius.

The annexed letters extend over the period which intervened between the rise of Lord Goderich to the premiership—one hardly sees why—and his sliding down from that eminence—one hardly sees how!

The first gives a singular evidence of that nice tact with which Lord Palmerston always discerned the place that suited him, at the time when his own advancement was in question, and put aside at once any idea of a higher one. Some friends had probably been speaking of him as fit to be leader

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of the House of Commons. He was in the prime of life, and had attained a certain degree of eminence; but he saw instantaneously that the distinguished post suggested to him was above the position he had then acquired. He felt, moreover, that to undertake it would exact a strain on his faculties and a change in his habits that he was indisposed to encounter. Singular destiny! Mr. Fox said that no man after sixty could undertake the leadership of the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston—justifying the proverb that “*everything arrives to the able man who can wait for it*,” and owing much, no doubt, to his marvellous constitution—arrived at this proud and laborious situation when age, according to a man well qualified to judge, disqualified him from filling it;—and held it with undiminished aptitude many years subsequent to the period when, according to the general rule that fixes the term of human existence,—he should have been in his grave.

We shall see in these letters the usual traces of a kind heart and of a busy life, occupied with public affairs, with the management of his paternal property, which he never neglected, and with attention to the interests of those he loved.

To Laurence Sullivan, Esq.

Letters.

“Stanhope Street, August 14, 1827.

“MY DEAR SULIVAN,

“I write before I go out; but if I hear anything more before post-time, I will let you know.

“I quite agree with you that Huskisson is the man Letters. who ought to represent the Government in the House of Commons. He has every qualification for it in a great degree, except eloquence ; but, without having that, he has quite sufficient faculty of speaking to enable him in these times, and in the present state of the House, to perform his duty with credit. He is fully equal to speaking up to the mark of any opponents he is likely to be pitted against ; for even Peel’s style of speaking is not so much remarkable for eloquence and brilliancy as for those very qualities which Huskisson shares with him. Brougham is the man whose style of speaking would be the most embarrassing to a man of Huskisson’s turn of mind, whose powers lie in argument and statement, rather than in ridicule and exaggeration ; but Brougham is with us. The Duke of Portland having succeeded Harrowby, there remain but two gaps to be filled ; and it is quite clear that Lord Holland must in some way or other be put into one of them, either by going to the Colonial Office himself, or by taking the office of some other person who may go there. As to myself, I have heard nothing ; and though I know Goderich’s good-will towards me, it may not be easy for him to make any arrangement. As to the lead of the House of Commons, *there are very few things indeed in this world which I should so much dislike ; even if I felt that I was fit for it. But in various ways I should be quite unequal to it.* To go no further than one point, the person so

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placed must be in a perpetual state of canvass ; and of all irksome slaveries there is none more difficult to me than that ; besides the character of the Government is, as it were, identified with the debating success of the individual. I think it not unlikely that Tierney may risk it, and in some respects he has strong claims. *But he would not do ; people think him too sly.* There can be no use whatever in your coming up ; for even if I were to change office there really is nothing which we have to do that could not just as well be done by successors. The only things unsettled are the appointment of an assistant estimate clerk, and the selection of two juniors to fill the vacancies in the class above. Our regulations could not be finished in a couple of days, even if you were now in town ; and therefore, really happen what will or may, there can be no earthly reason why you should cut short holidays of which you stood so much in need, and which, I trust, will do you essential good.

“ Yours affectionately,

“ PALMERSTON.”

To Laurence Sullivan, Esq.

“ August 15, 1827.

“ MY DEAR SULIVAN,

“ I am to be Chancellor of Exchequer, and Herries Secretary at War. The first office was offered him by the King's desire ; but he did not feel his health equal to it—at least, without going abroad ; and Goderich could not wait his return.

Huskisson goes to the Colonies ; and Charles Grant Letters. succeeds him at the Board of Trade, probably not in the Cabinet. I am to be sworn in on Friday. I do not think you need come to town yet ; but I will let you know if it should be necessary when I have talked with Herries, which I have not yet done.

“ Do not mention my appointment till it is announced officially, for fear of accidents.

“ Yours affectionately,

“ PALMERSTON.

“ Goderich sent for me to-day, to propose this to me, saying he had written yesterday to the King about it.”

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

“ War Office, August 24, 1827.

“ MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“ I have not time to make excuses for not having written to you sooner, since the great loss we have all sustained, and I now only state briefly the present situation of things. The King wants Herries to be Chancellor of the Exchequer ; the Whigs object to *him* pointedly, and Goderich wishes to have me. Neither party will give way ; and there is a great possibility of a dissolution of the Government. Herries himself is not particularly desirous ; but he is a great friend of Knighton, who, it is said, urges the appointment. The Whigs certainly have some cause to complain. The King refuses, for the moment at

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least, to take in Lord Holland, whom they pressed, and presses Herries, whom they reject. Herries is anti-Catholic and anti-Liberal, and I believe has held some indiscreet language about the Whigs. Still, however, I think they would be very foolish to go out on a personal question of this kind, and to give up the means which office affords them of giving effect to all the great principles of national policy, foreign and domestic, to forward which they avowedly joined Canning's administration. But looking back to the conduct of that party, in trying moments when personal feeling came into play, I think it too probable that they will go out, if some means cannot be found to parry the question; and I certainly should consider their secession as a great public misfortune. One of two things must follow: either a mixed Government would be made by Goderich of some of his present colleagues and the Tories, or the whole Cabinet would march, and the Tories come in bodily. The last, it is obvious, would be most unfortunate in every possible way, and would produce the worst consequences on our foreign relations and domestic policy, including commerce and Ireland. The first event would bring back a Government just like Liverpool's, consisting of men differing on all great questions, and perpetually on the verge of a quarrel; the result of which is that nothing is done, each party giving up their views on condition that a corresponding sacrifice is made by the others. Huskisson has arrived at Paris, and is expected here in a few days,

and it has been agreed to let the matter stand over Letters. till his return. He may probably cut the knot by saying that he will not lead the House of Commons—which he *must* do, unless he is himself Chancellor of Exchequer—or else Sturges Bourne, to whom the King at first proposed it, might be induced, much against his will, to take it for a time, to save the Government from dissolution. He is intended for the Colonial Office, and Charles Grant to succeed him at the Board of Trade. Dudley remains at the Foreign Office, where he has done incomparably well, and has surprised all those who only knew him by seeing him abstracted and absent in society, or muttering to himself while chinking his sovereigns.

“Our Portuguese affairs are beginning to clear up, and we are getting Austria to take much the same view of the matter as ourselves, and I trust we shall find her co-operate with us in the ultimate arrangement.

“A’Court writes, in a letter received to-day, that they do not expect Don Pedro; and Austria engages to keep Miguel at Vienna till the negotiations with Brazil shall be brought to a close—that is, at least to the end of the year. If this and the Greek affair can be well settled, the state of Europe will be as satisfactory as it can perhaps ever be expected to be; for when Portugal is put to rights the French *must* quit Spain.

“Fanny and Bowles are in Scotland, Sullivan and Eliz. in Wales.

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“The Duke of Wellington will be gazetted Commander-in-Chief to-night. He comes in without any stipulations or conditions whatever.

“Yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

“MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“Stanhope Street, Oct. 19, 1827.

“I am off to-morrow for Ireland for three weeks, but must be back again in London by the 12th November, as the Cabinet hold their usual autumnal assembly on the 13th, to make arrangements for the business of the session, &c. Fanny and Bowles are not yet returned from their northern tour, but give a very good account of themselves. European affairs have been arranging themselves in a satisfactory manner. Ferdinand has made his bargain with his ultras, and they have all submitted. What his terms to them are remains to be seen : probably he will keep his promises as much as may be convenient to him. He is no fool and no bigot, but has much to do with people who are both ; and he wants energy to resist, and good faith to stick to anything inconvenient at the moment. Miguel will, I hope, come here soon, and if we can send him to Lisbon imbued with proper sentiments as to the necessary dependence of Portugal on England, and can undo a little of Metternich’s absolutism in his mind, the affairs of Portugal may yet turn out well. Our troops will probably be withdrawn as

soon as Miguel arrives, because then, all danger of Letters. invasion from Spain being over, the ground of our occupation will cease. France would, I believe, be very glad also to get out of Spain, where the position of her army becomes every day more false and unpleasant; and we have reason to think that when our troops are gone, or actually going, France will publicly proclaim the approaching departure of hers from Spain. Greece is an object of more uncertain interest; but yet I cannot believe that the Turk will hold out when he finds the three allies really in earnest. Austria has, I believe, been playing her usual double game on this point, professing to us her anxiety to assist us, and that her only reason for not being a party to the treaty was an abstract principle, which forbade her to recognize the existence on earth of such a state of things as a continued resistance of subjects to their sovereign; while, on the other hand, she has been urging the Porte not to give way, assuring her that the allies would separate, and the alliance end in nothing. Metternich has even had the face to make to the allies, through the French Government, an indirect offer of the mediation of Austria and Prussia between the allies and Turkey, stating that it was now evident that the treaty* was become a dead letter, and never could be executed. Damas gave him a very proper answer, saying that the three powers humbly thought that they were strong enough to execute their own intentions;

* See Appendix, pp. 418-21.

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and that the treaty, so far from having become a dead letter, happened to be just beginning to become an effective measure ; that we needed no assistance in the way of mediation from our obliging friends at Vienna and Berlin, but that if they chose now to become parties to the treaty, they might still be admitted, and their assistance in that shape would be willingly received. Metternich, however, will gradually connect himself a little more with England. There was a personal dislike between him and Canning, which influenced the public policy, perhaps, of both ; but Metternich must be an idiot if he does not see that Russia is the windward quarter of the heavens, and that his dirty weather must come from thence, and that he should look for shelter to the westward. Parliament will not meet till February, if we can find money enough to go on with till the end of that month. We know that we can do till the end of January, but if we should not have cash or credit beyond that, Parliament must meet in the early part of January, as it takes near a fortnight to get any vote that can be turned into money. The Duke of Gordon will not go to the Ordnance, but probably to Canada, instead of Lord Dalhousie, who goes Commander-in-Chief to India, instead of Lord Combermere. Sir G. Murray will be Major-General of Ordnance, not in the Cabinet. Clinton, who is Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, will go to the Mauritius instead of Cole, who goes to the Cape ; and Sir H. Taylor will be Lieutenant-General of Ordnance.

These are very good arrangements, but are not yet Letters. public, nor indeed definitively settled. The Whigs are getting into good-humour again, and Whig and Tory will soon be erased from our vocabulary. The King has not yet forgiven the seceders. He has had a sharp attack of gout, but had been so long free that it was naturally to be expected.

“Adieu! yours affectionately,

“PALMERSTON.”

To the Hon. Wm. Temple, Berlin.

“Stanhope Street, Nov. 27, 1827.

“MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“I returned about a fortnight ago from a three weeks’ trip to Sligo, where I found my improvements going on well; and I hope to find my people in a few years somewhat resembling a civilized race. My harbour is just finished, and will be very useful for the fishery, and in the end will be a little commercial port. I made a concordat with my bishop about my schools, and, by agreeing to all he asked—which after all was not very unreasonable—I have got him to assist me, and have heard since my return that my girls’ school has increased from five scholars to one hundred. The boys’ school has not yet got a master; but when I get one it will be equally thriving, I have no doubt. I spoke again to Dudley about you the day before yesterday, and he repeated his assurances of an earnest desire to attend to my wishes as soon as any opportunity enabled him. He asked

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whether you would have any objection to cross the water. I asked what water he meant. He said he meant, whether you would feel any repugnance to go to South America. I said that of course when a man embraces a profession, he was prepared to go wherever that profession might call him, and that I was sure that was your feeling; but that certainly I should very much prefer some appointment in Europe for you, if it were possible to find one. He said that in Europe they were terribly crowded, and that it was possible it might be more easy to find an opening in America. I asked what the appointment was which he had in contemplation. He said he had nothing particular in view, and his inquiry was only a general one; and so we left the matter. But I am sure he will do what he can for you. By our last accounts from Constantinople, dated the 5th, the Turks seemed as much puzzled as surprised with the smash at Navarino. My own conjecture is, that it will smooth and not increase our difficulties. It is a display of power and an indication of determination which they will appreciate. It deprives them of all possibility of keeping up their army in the Morea; for as to supplies by land, the march is too long and difficult. The only question then is, how long it will take for the Greeks, and sickness, and fatigue to consume their present force in Greece, and whether there is any chance of the alliance falling to pieces before that time; and, on the other hand, they must calculate that if what has been done should not be

effectual, something more may perhaps be done in the Letters.
shape of those 'ulterior measures' alluded to in the treaty. Metternich has acted a shabby and a foolish part. He thwarted us underhand while a different course might have prevented the collision ; and now he is frightened, and really wishes to help us, when his influence is diminished. From what I have seen of him since I came into the Cabinet, I am convinced he prefers the tortuous to the straight course, where the option is before him.

“ Adieu ! yours affectionately,

“ PALMERSTON.”

To the Hon. Wm. Temple.

“ Stanhope Street, Dec. 4, 1827.

“ MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“ Clanwilliam has hinted to me that it is probable that the Secretaryship of Embassy at Petersburg will be offered to you, under A'Court,* who, however, will not be formally appointed till he returns to England ; and he cannot leave Portugal till Miguel has arrived there, because he must deliver to him his letters of recall ; and Lamb must, at the same time, deliver his credentials. Let me know your wishes on this matter. . . .

“ We are still in uncertainty about Turkey and Greece. What is most probable is, that the Turk will sit cross-legged, and with his hands before him, and say he will do nothing ; or, as the French

* Afterwards Lord Heytesbury.